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CAROLUS JOANNES VAUGHAN, S. T. P.

SCHOL. HARROV. MAGISTER,

*A.D. : viii. Id. : Apr. :*

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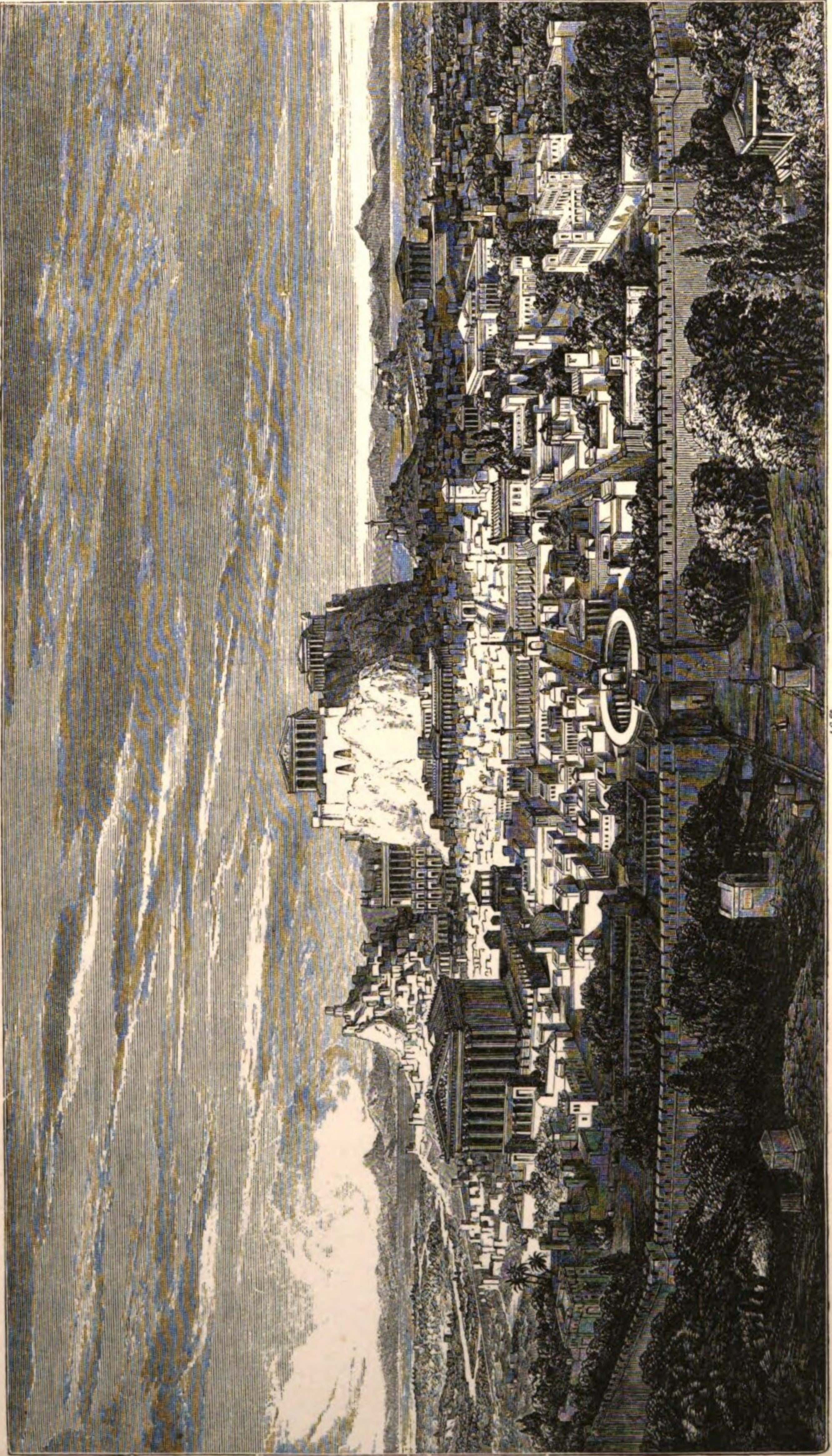






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ATHENS RESTORED.

[Frontispiece.]



ATHENS AND ATTICA:

NOTES OF A TOUR:

By CHR. WORDSWORTH, B.D.

Canon of Westminster

WITH MAPS AND PLANS.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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## PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

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THE Author's main design in the present work was to illustrate the Topography and Antiquities of ATHENS and ATTICA by reference to passages of Ancient Classical Authors which reflect light upon them; and to illustrate Ancient Classical Authors from local descriptions. Perhaps therefore, in consequence of the permanent attractions of the subject, any interest that may have originally belonged to the following pages, may not have been impaired by lapse of time.

The Author has the pleasure of acknowledging the valuable assistance of Mr. G. Scharf, jun., in supplying the woodcuts in the present edition.

*Cloisters, Westminster Abbey,  
November 22nd, 1854.*



## THE FIRST TO THE THIRD EDITION.

The present edition is a reprint of the first edition, with some additions and alterations, and a new preface. The additions are chiefly in the form of new chapters, and are intended to bring the work up to the present state of the science. The alterations are chiefly in the form of corrections, and are intended to improve the accuracy of the work. The new preface is intended to explain the reasons for the new edition, and to state the author's hopes for its reception.

The author has the pleasure of acknowledging the valuable assistance of Mr. J. C. Smith, in supplying the materials for the new edition.

London: Printed by J. C. Smith, 1855.



## SUBSTANCE OF PREFACE TO THE FIRST AND SECOND EDITIONS.

---

THE following pages are part of a Journal of a Tour made by the Author, during the years 1832 and 1833, in several of the provinces of Greece.

The present volume commences a little before his entrance into ATTICA, and terminates soon after he has quitted it.

A few words may be requisite to explain the considerations by which he has been induced to adopt the system of orthography employed in this volume for representing modern Greek names of places, although he is aware that a different method of representation has been sanctioned by the authority, and recommended by the practice, of one of the ablest among our living topographers of Greece, Colonel Leake. The following are the Author's reasons for his own practice:—

He was addressing himself to the eyes of English readers, in some degree familiar with the ancient literature of Greece, and not to the ears of modern Greeks, or of those who are supposed to be well acquainted with their mode of pronunciation. He has not therefore represented those names according to the sound which they bear in the



mouth of a modern Greek, but according to their grammatical orthography. The etymology of a Greek name may often present interesting materials for topographical speculation. The name itself may suggest a train of agreeable recollections. But if it be disguised in writing, as it is in speaking, its genuine form will not easily be recognised by the generality of English readers.\* The previous associations with which, in their minds, it may be connected, and the inferences which they may derive from it, will thus, perhaps, be lost. In writing these names, therefore, he has not endeavoured to suggest to the reader their modern sound, but their ancient sense.

At the Publisher's desire, he has annexed an English translation to the classical quotations in the volume.

His best thanks are due to Colonel Leake, Captain Beaufort, R.N., Hydrographer to the Admiralty, W. R. Hamilton, Esq., C. R. Cockerell, Esq., R.A., C. H. Bracebridge, Esq., for assistance rendered in the publication of this Work, and particularly to his brother, the Rev. John Wordsworth, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, for revising the proofs of the Second Edition.

HARROW,

May 14, 1836 and July, 1837.

\* For example, the name *Sebasto-pol*, so written, will immediately suggest its derivation, from *Sebastos* = *Augustus*, and *Polis*; but the etymology will not be equally obvious, if it is written, as it is pronounced, *Sevastopol*. 1854.



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# ATHENS AND ATTICA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### NEGROPONT TO OROPÓ.

---

A Chalcide Aulidem trajicit, inde Oropum Atticæ ventum est ; ubi pro Deo vates antiquus colitur ; Athenas inde plenas quidem et ipsas vetustate famæ, multa tamen visenda habentes, Arcem, Portus, Muros Peiræeum urbi jungentes, navalia magnorum Imperatorum, Simulacra Deorum hominumque.

T. LIV. XLV. 26.

*From Chalcis he passes over to Aulis : thence to Oropus in Attica, where an ancient Seer (Amphiaraus) is adored as a God ; thence to Athens, full of her old renown, having many objects deserving a visit, her Citadel, her Ports, and the Walls which link the Peiræus to the City ; Docks erected by great Commanders ; the Statues of Gods and Men.*

OCT. 9, 1832.

HESIOD might have spared the only voyage which he informs<sup>1</sup> us he ever made, if this bridge which we cross this morning from Chalcis to the Bœotian shore had existed in his time. His love of glory overcame his antipathy to the sea, and tempted him across the Euripus. He returned from Chalcis to Ascra with the poetic prize, which he dedicated to the Muses of his native Helicon.

We are now making on horseback the same passage as

<sup>1</sup> Works and Days, v. 649.



he made by water. The Euripus which we are crossing has influenced the fortunes, altered the name, and changed the character of Eubœa.

Εὐριπος in the mouth of a modern Greek is pronounced 'Evrīpos; from Evripus comes 'Egripus; from Egripus, 'N'Egripon, (in the accusative case, as from 'Αβαρίνος comes Navarino, the *σὸ* or *εἰς τὸ* being suppressed), and from Negripon, by aid, perhaps also, of its bridge, we arrive at the modern name of Eubœa, *Negro-pon-te*. Similarly we have *Stamboul* (= *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*) for *Constantinople*; *Stanco* (= *εἰς τὴν Κῶ*) for *Cos*; so *Eis-nic* for *Nicæa*; *Eismyr* for *Smyrna*. This prefix of the article with the preposition (*i. e.* *ἐς τὸ*, &c.) deserves notice, as the cause of topographical difficulties. In the Greek Synecdemus of Hierocles (p. 646) we have a list of Ægæan islands. There the mention of Eubœa is followed by that of other islands, Δῆλος, ΣΚΥΡΟΣ, ΤΑΛΑΜΕΝΗ; on which Wesseling observes, “Ταλαμένη ex Σαλαμῖς νῆσος orta videtur.” Such is his conjecture. But the corrupt word Ταλαμένη is probably nothing else but ΣΤΑ ΛΙΜΕΝΙ, (*i. e.* *ἐς τὰ λιμένα*, *The harbours*), or *Staliméni*, which is the modern name of *Lemnos*. Then the combination of the islands in Hierocles becomes a very appropriate one: it is precisely the same, and in the same order, as that in Euripides (Troad. 89),

— Δῆλιοί τε χοιράδες  
Σκῦρός τε Λῆμνός τε. . . .

— *The Delian cliffs,*  
*Scyros and Lemnos.*

But to return. It was the policy of <sup>1</sup>Bœotia, contrived

<sup>1</sup> The bridge over the Euripus was built by the Bœotians B.C. 410. (Diod. Sic. xiii. 47.) If Plutarch be right in doubting the genuineness of the passage ascribed to Hesiod above, that passage is at least older than this date.



with more than Bœotian shrewdness, to make "Eubœa an island to every one else but themselves." By its means the Bœotians blockaded these ancient Dardanelles of Greece against their southern neighbours, the Athenians. They locked the door of Athenian commerce, and kept the key. This was the channel, by which the gold of Thasos, the horses of Thessaly, the timber of Macedonia, the corn of Thrace were carried into the Peiræus. Nor may we forget the importance of Eubœa itself, which from its position, and its produce, its quarries, its timber and its corn, was of inestimable value to Athens. Of the better part of this island her tenure was from that time precarious; and her communication with the northern markets was either dependent on the fear or amity of Bœotia, or it was exposed to the dangers of the open sea—the perils of the treacherous Coela, and the "vengeful <sup>1</sup>Caphareus," which had rendered such signal service to Athens by the havoc there made in the invading armada of Persia.

After passing the bridge of the Euripus we turn to the left. The road skirts the shore: the tracks of ancient wheels are visible in the rocky ledge which rises above the sea, and in a mile from the bridge we arrive at a flowing fountain.

It was at a fountain near this spot—

καλῇ <sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ ὅθεν ῥέεν ἄγλαον ὕδωρ,

*Beneath the platane fair, whence gushed the shining stream,*

that Homer imagined a session of Councillors and Warriors assembled around the King of Greece, whose fleet was becalmed in this bay on their way to Troy.

<sup>1</sup> Virg. *Æn.* xi. 260. The name is now changed by a modern euphemism into "Cavo d'oro," (the golden cape).

<sup>2</sup> ὅτ' ἐς Αὐλίδᾳ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν ἠγερέθοντο, &c.—*Iliad* ii. 303.



Some peasants here, of whom we inquire the name of the site, tell us that it is called *Vliké*. This may be a modification of *Αὔλική*, which has the sound of *Avliké* to a modern Greek, and still preserves the recollection of the district of *AULIS*, when the name of *Aulis* has perished.

We ascend a high rugged hill on the right of the road, and on the western verge of a peninsula formed by two bays. At its summit is a ruined hellenic city, probably of the heroic age. Its huge polygonal walls remain in their complete circuit. The interior of the city is strewn with broken pottery, and overgrown with wild plants. In an ancient city like this, the traveller feels grateful that the physical structure of this country is what it is—of hard imperishable limestone. For hence the monuments of remote times, constructed with the native stone, combine the freshness of youth with the dignity of old age; and appear to appropriate the beholder to themselves. They exist in his age, and he lives in theirs.

This is illustrated by the character of the place in which we now are. We enter the gate of this ancient town. The towers which flanked the old gateway still stand on the right and left. The groove of the gate, the socket which received its bar, seem to have been recently chiselled. Within the city at the N.W. a large square cistern is hewn in the living calcareous rock: its clean sharp sides seem to have been lately carved to receive a shower, which may soon fall. We advance to the eastern wall: a flight of stone steps invites us to mount from the area of the city to a tower projecting from the wall, in order, we might almost believe, that from its lofty eminence we might look down on the valley, the shore, and the Euripus lying below us, and thus assure ourselves whether the Grecian fleet of Agamemnon is still lingering in the port of *Aulis*.



To return from what might be, to what is. The hill on which we stand is called Μεγάλο Βουνὸ στὸ μικρὸ βαθύ (*The Great Mountain, at the Small Deep.*)

The name of this mountain is derived from its nearness to a small harbour, called μικρὸ βαθύ in contradistinction to the larger port which begins at the south of the narrowest point of the Euripus, and spreads itself like an unfolded wing (<sup>1</sup>κολπώδη πτέρυγ' Εὐβοίας) from the side of Eubœa. This larger port is called μεγάλο βαθύ. These its two titles are of great antiquity; for there can scarcely be a doubt that it is identical with the harbour described by Strabo<sup>2</sup> under the same name, and in which he supposes the Greek fleet to have been moored. If so, the harbour to the south of it, now known by the name μικρὸ βαθύ, must have been the port which he describes as affording a roadstead for only fifty ships, and as more nearly connected with Aulis itself.

Hence we may suppose that a city now referred in the language of the country to that smaller harbour (στὸ μικρὸ βαθύ), as is the case with the city in which we now are, is no other than AULIS, to which the smaller harbour belonged.

A profusion of fictile fragments is scattered over the area of this city, and may remind us that the inhabitants of Aulis principally maintained themselves in<sup>3</sup> later times by

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. Iphig. Aul. 120 :

— Αὔλιν ἀκλύσταν

τὰν κολπώδη πτέρυγ' Εὐβοίας.

— where Aulis spreads her waveless bay,

*The unruffled pinion of the Euboic shore.*

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 403. C. In his route from Oropus to Chalcis: After Delium, he says, is the great harbour which they call the *Deep* harbour. Λιμὴν μέγας, ὃν καλοῦσι βαθὺν λιμένα, εἴθ' ἡ Αὔλις, πετρῶδες χωρίον, λιμὴν δ' ἐστὶ πεντήκοντα πλοίοις, ὥστε εἰκὸς τὸν ναύσταθμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ὑπάρχει λιμένι.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ix. 19. 8. ἄνθρωποι ἐν Αὐλίδι οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πολλοί, γῆς δέ



its produce of pottery. Among these broken relics of its former commerce, I pick up the handle of a lamp inscribed with the name ΤΑΕΠΟΛΕΜΟ (*of Tlepolemus*) who was perhaps the manufacturer at Aulis in whose fabric it was produced.

The name of <sup>1</sup> *Aulis* itself would have tempted us to place it immediately on the canal (αὐλὸς) of the Euripus; but knowing, as we do, that Aulis was <sup>2</sup> *three miles* distant from Chalcis, we are disposed to consider the name of Aulis not to be expressive of immediate contiguity to the Euripus, but of the priority of its foundation in the less restricted neighbourhood of that channel.

We meet a shepherd of the country at the descent on the S.E. side of this mountain. He informs us that there are ruins of hellenic cities on two neighbouring hills to the N.W. They are called by him Κτύπα and Ανηφορήτο (*the steep*). There is also an ancient citadel bordering on the sea, on a rocky peninsula to the S.W. of our present position. One of our companions who explored it describes its construction as very rude and strong.<sup>3</sup>

Our road lies along the bare arable plain parallel to the sea, and bounded on the west by low hills. We leave two hamlets, Psalóutha (Ψαλούθα), and Gerilé (Γεριλή) on our left: to our right, at about ten miles' distance from 'Egripo is the village of Dramisé (Δραμισή). It lies in a large plain below a small insulated hill on which is a modern tower. Here is a small church dedicated to St. George. If any

εἰσιν οὗτοι κεραμεῖς. *There are few inhabitants in Aulis, and these are potters.*

<sup>1</sup> Αὐλῖς is derived from αὐλὸς (canalis), of which it is a feminine form, and is the same word as the Latin *Vallis*: So *Aulon* in Epirus has now become *Vallona*.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. xlv. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Col. Leake (*Travels in Northern Greece*, ii. p. 264) supposes this peninsula to be the site of Aulis.



vestiges of antiquity exist in a Greek village, in the shape of decorated or inscribed marbles, they will generally be found in its church, for the construction of which they may have been employed. Thus the churches of Greek towns and hamlets have served the purpose of simple Museums for the preservation of local Antiquities. At Dramisé, neither in its church nor in any of its buildings, can we find any evidence that it occupies, as has been supposed, the site of an ancient city. It has been identified with Delium.

There is indeed a tumulus on its shore, which might be considered a relic of Delium,<sup>1</sup> and of its field of battle, if there were better evidence than there is of the coincidence of this spot with the site of that city. But the site of Delium appears to be now occupied by a village similar to DELIUM in name; the village of Δήλισι which recalls the memory of Delium, a place ennobled by the intrepidity of Socrates. Délisi is about seven miles from Oropó, which is not far from the site of the ancient Oropus. It stands a little to the right of the road on a rising ground, which shelves down into the plain. The road soon divides into two branches; the path on the right hand, which we now pursue, leading over shrubby hills to Oropó, that on the left skirting the sea-shore, and crossing the river Asopus at its entrance to the sea.

The site of Délisi is on the southern verge of the flat strip of land which fringes the sea from the Euripus, and now converges to a narrow margin running on southward from Délisi along the shore. It therefore commanded the

<sup>1</sup> Delium could not have stood at Dramisé: for Delium was only five miles from Tanagra (Liv. xxxv. 51), and ten stadia from Delium placed the Athenians *just on the Oropian frontier* (μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις τῆς Ὀρωπίας. Thuc. iv. 91). Hence in Strabo's assertion, Δήλιον Αὐλίδος διέχον σταδίους τριάκοντα, *Delium distant from Aulis thirty stadia*, for the number λ' (i. e. μ') 30, should probably be substituted ρ' or 100.



avenue from Attica to Bœotia along the coast. This was probably the reason why it was <sup>1</sup> seized and fortified by the Athenians as a post from which they might sally against their northern neighbours, and protect themselves from their aggression. In this sense Delium was a Bœotian Deceleia.

Its maritime position was also favourable. It is not close to the sea, but probably it possessed buildings on the shore. The sea makes here a reach in a south-easterly direction, so that a bay exists in the curve thus formed. By the possession of this bay, Delium was made the emporium of the important city Tanagra, which was five miles in the interior. The village of Délisi is now in ruins.

The road bears to the right. We begin to ascend wild and uncultivated hills, overgrown with low shrubs, and broken into deep furrows by the torrents which plough their way from the higher mountains on our right in their course into the sea.

On an evening in this season, at the beginning of winter,<sup>2</sup> the battle of Delium was fought, at<sup>3</sup> about a mile to the south of the village from which it was named. One of these sloping hills<sup>4</sup> covered the Bœotian forces from the sight of the Athenians. These abrupt<sup>5</sup> gullies channelled in the soil by the autumnal rain impeded the conflict of the two armies. They afforded less embarrassment to the manœuvres of the lighter troops; and it was to their superiority in this species of force that the Bœotians were mainly indebted for their victory. Their

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. iv. 92. τὴν Βοιωτίαν (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου ἐλθόντες, τεῖχος (ἐν Δηλίῳ) ἐνοικοδομησάμενοι, μέλλουσι φθεῖρειν. *The Athenians, having marched from the border-land, and erected for themselves a fortress at Delium, intend to ravage Bœotia.*

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 424.

<sup>3</sup> δέκα σταδίου. Thuc. iv. 90.

<sup>4</sup> λόφος. Thuc. iv. 96.

<sup>5</sup> ῥύακες. Thuc. iv. 96.



success was complete. The darkness protected the Athenian Philosopher and soldier, Socrates, who seems to have escaped by the bed of one of these<sup>1</sup> ravines into which the soil has been ploughed by the mountain streams: he returned home together with<sup>2</sup> his pupil and his friend by a particular road, which, it is said, his guardian spirit prompted him to take, and which he recommended in vain to his other companions.

We cross the deep bed of the river Asopus at the village of Sycaminó, and in about half an hour arrive among the low cottages of Oropó.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch de Socrat. Dæmon. 581. 32. Πυριλάμπης ὁ Ἀντιφῶντος ἄλous ἐν τῇ διώξει περὶ Δήλιον, ὥς ἤκουσε τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀφικομένων Ἀθηναίων ὅτι Σωκράτης μετὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Λάχηντος ἐπὶ ΡΗΤΙΣ ΤΗΣ καταβὰς ἀπονενοστήκοι, πολλὰ μὲν τοῦτον ἀνεκαλέσατο, πολλὰ δὲ φίλων τινὰς, οἷς συνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν Πάρνηθα φεύγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν. Müller (Orchomenos, p. 491) for the corrupt words ΡΗΤΙΣ ΤΗΣ proposes PEITOTΣ (ῥειτοὶ are ῥωγμοί. Hesych. in v., and identical with the ῥύακες described as existing here by Thucydides). Plutarch probably wrote PEITOIS ΤΙΣΙ. The confusion arose from the modern pronunciation in which the sounds of ῥητίστης and ῥειτοῖς τις are identical.

<sup>2</sup> Alcibiades and Laches. Plat. Sympos. 231. A. and with Xenophon. Strabo. 403. C.



## CHAPTER II.

### OROPÓ TO TANAGRA.

Εντεῦθεν (ἐξ Ὠρωποῦ) εἰς Τανάγραν στάδια ρλ'. ὁδὸς δι' ἐλαιοφύτου καὶ συνδέενδρου χώρας, παντὸς καθαρεύουσα τοῦ ἀπὸ κλωπῶν φόβου.—  
DICAËARCHUS (*State of Greece*, p. 12, ed. Hudson).

*From Oropus to Tanagra are 130 stadia. The road lies through a country planted with olives and well wooded, and is free from all apprehension of robbers.*

THIS extract from the Tour of Dicæarchus gives a description of the route from OROPUS to TANAGRA<sup>1</sup> more than two thousand years ago. The road is still shaded by shrubs; but the olives which he noticed are now not so common

<sup>1</sup> *Notes of Route from Oropus to Tanagra.*

- |       | H.  | MIN. |                                                                                                 |
|-------|-----|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| VIII. | 10. |      | Oropus.                                                                                         |
|       | 35. |      | cross Asopus. Sycamino. Road is along left bank of Asopus.                                      |
|       | 43. |      | follow a path to r.                                                                             |
|       | 46. |      | ascend. Pines.                                                                                  |
| IX.   | 19. |      | Descend into a small plain. The Asopus is seen turning l. through a fine woody chasm. Platanes. |
|       | 35. |      | ascend. View of plain. Road and River turn r. Βαλανίδια trees.                                  |
|       | 37. |      | Vestiges. Mount Κακό Shállesi and Parnes behind it l. Pass along plain between low hills.       |
| X.    | 14. |      | Pyrgo of Staníati 20 min. r.                                                                    |
|       | 20. |      | Bridge over Asopus 2 min. l. Well 5 min. l. Church 7 min. l.                                    |
|       | 25. |      | cross stream Lari running into Asopus from r.                                                   |
| XI.   | 10. |      | Tanagra.                                                                                        |



there as plane-trees and pines. The latter part of his description could not be applied to it now. The route is by no means free at present from all apprehension of κλωπες, klefts, *i. e.* robbers: in the words of our Greek guides, it is not a *στράτα παστρική*.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient Topographer, Dicæarchus, may have loitered under the shade of these pleasant trees by the side of the Asopus, and thus, from the length of time which elapsed he may have been led to infer that the distance was greater than we, who are not so fortunate, are willing to allow. By us the distance from Oropó to Tanagra would be estimated at ten miles.

The little village which we traversed yesterday at dusk, and which we again pass this morning in our way to Tanagra, the hamlet of *Sycaminó*, may perhaps have derived its name from *συκάμινοι*, which once grew there. It is inhabited by Albanians. The women stand before their doors habited in a long white woollen coat, which seems to indicate their origin from a colder climate than that in which they now live. Their braided hair falls over the back in two long streaming folds—like that of the figures which are seen in some of the earliest sculptured representations of the Deities of Greece<sup>2</sup>—

*Candida dividuâ colla tegente comâ.*—OVID.

*With parted hair veiling the snowy neck.*

At *Sycaminó* the road turns to the left, and ascends the stream of the Asopus on its northern bank. The modern name of the Asopus here is *Borién*. It winds its way through low hills, in which it has made some romantic

<sup>1</sup> Literally, “a clean road,” an expression like *ὁδὸς καθαρεύουσα* in Dicæarchus.

<sup>2</sup> See an example in Zoëga, *Bassirilievi*. T. II. p. 239.



chasms. Beyond it on our left are the hills of Boiáti, and ascending above them the loftier ridge of Mount PARNES, at the foot of which Bœotia began. The modern name of Boiáti may be a record of this territorial starting-place.

The only habitation visible on our right is the tower of Staníati and a small village of the same name.

The site of TANAGRA is now called Graimáda (Γραιμάδα<sup>1</sup>). It is a large hill nearly circular in form, neither abrupt nor high. It rises from the north bank of the Asopus, and communicates by a bridge with the south side of the stream, where are also ancient remains. The nearness of the city to the Asopus suggests the reason why Tanagra was styled the *daughter*<sup>2</sup> of that river; and the ancient name of the inhabitants (Γεφυραῖοι, the people of the bridge), may perhaps have arisen from the requirements of that neighbourhood, which are provided for by the present bridge.

On the east of the city, separated from it by a small stream, which runs into the Asopus, is another hill, under which some female peasants are engaged in washing linen. They call the torrent Lári, the hill above it Kokáli.<sup>3</sup> This hill was consecrated to the minds of the ancient Tanagræans by a local tradition, which made it the birth-place of Mercury.

The vestiges of Tanagra are not so considerable as the importance of the place had led us to expect. They are more remarkable for extent than grandeur. We find a few

<sup>1</sup> Γραίμα in Romaic is derived from γράινω (i. e. ἐκπαίνω) to moisten or bathe, and has thus a similar signification to Τέναγος, a marsh, with which Τανάγρα is probably connected, being placed

— ἐνθα πεδίον Ἀσωπὸς ῥοαῖς  
ἄρδει. Æschyl. Pers. 791.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. ii. 20. ὅρος Κηρύκιον, ἐνθα Ἑρμῆν τεχθῆναι λέγουσι.



remnants of polygonal masonry, and a gate of the city on the southern side of it, of which the lintel is more than six feet in length, and made of a single stone. The circuit of the walls can be traced, but there is little left of them but their foundations. The ground is thickly strewn with minute fragments of earthenware, which bespeak the existence of a numerous population in early times, and remain an interesting relic of the domestic economy and social intercourse of private families, while the strong wall and massive towers of the citadel no longer survive to give authentic evidence of the power of the State.

This may be owing to the prolonged existence of Tanagra.<sup>1</sup> In the Augustan age, Thespiæ and Tanagra were the only Bœotian towns that survived, and Tanagra lingered on for a long time under the Roman sway in Greece. Its extant coins are many of them imperial; but the maintenance of its fortifications was hardly compatible with its dependent existence. Their materials were probably destroyed, or converted to purposes of a more pacific character. Hence its vestiges do not correspond to its fame. In the degradation to which it was reduced under Roman rule, the city of Tanagra might be said to exist rather in terra-cotta than in stone.

At the N.W. corner of the citadel, the outline is traceable of a semicircular building, probably a Theatre. It is scooped out in the slope on which the walls are built, and looks down on the plain below it. There is another site similar in shape in the interior of the city, a little to the south of the present spot. In one of these two positions stood the Theatre at Tanagra, which Pausanias visited, and in which

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, 410. B. *Νυνὶ Θεσπιαὶ μόνη συνέστηκε τῶν Βοιωτικῶν πόλεων καὶ Τανάγρα.*



perhaps Corinna, the minstrel of Tanagra, whose beauty,<sup>1</sup> as he says, to judge by her statue, was equal to her poetical accomplishments, sung her strains which were so agreeable

Ταναγρίδεσσι λευκοπέπλοις  
μέγα δ' ἐμὴ γέγαθε πόλις  
λιγουροκωτίλης ἐνοπῆς·

To white-stol'd Tanagræan maids ;  
For deeply do they love the clear  
And plaintive roundelay to hear.

CORINNA<sup>2</sup> (in Hephæstion, p. 106. Gaisf.)

The former of these two sites commands a wide view. As we look eastward, the plain of the Asopus stretches beneath us, from east to west. To the south of it is a range of mountains: of which Mount<sup>3</sup> Elaté is the western, and Mount Noziá, the ancient Parnes, the eastern extremity.

A peasant here informs us that there are remains of an ancient city in the way from Tanagra to Thebes, to the N.W. of this spot, at an hour's distance from it, at a modern village called Bratchi. Which does this represent of the ancient members of the Tanagræan Tetrapolis?<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ix. 22. 3. Κόριννα. . . . γυναικῶν τότε δὴ καλλίστη τὸ εἶδος, εἴ τι δὴ εἰκόνι δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. . . . ἡ μόνη δὴ ἐν Τανάγρα ἄσματα ἐποίησε.

<sup>2</sup> Where these three Glyconics are preceded by a fourth,

καλὰ γεροῖα εἰσομένα

Which is now in a corrupt state, and may perhaps be corrected thus,

καλὰ γὰρ οἶδ' αἰσομένα

(i. e. *I know that I shall sing pleasing strains.*) To white-stol'd, &c.

Ταναγρίδεσσι λευκοπέπλοις. Cp. Eurip. ap. Plutarch, Alcib. c. 11.

σὲ δ' αἰείσομαι, ᾧ Κλεινίου πᾶι, καλὸν ἀνικά.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐλατί is the present name of Mount Cithæron, derived from the silver-firs (ἐλάται) which grow there. Hence Euripides very properly places Pentheus on an ἐλάτη, whence he observes the Bacchæ on Mount Cithæron (Eurip. Bacch. 750. 1070. 1090).

<sup>4</sup> Strabo. 405, c. ἔστι τῆς τετρακωμίας τῆς περὶ Τανάγραν, Ελεῶνος, Ἀρματος, Μυκαλησσοῦ, Φηρῶν.



From the citadel of Tanagra we descend into the plain on the north, in the hope of finding some further vestiges of the ancient city. We find two churches in this plain, one to the west, the other to the east of the stream Lari: the one is dedicated to S. Nicolas, the other to S. George. They are at about a mile's distance from the city. From the blocks of hewn stone, and sculptured marble, inserted in their plaster-walls, and lying near them, they may be supposed to have succeeded to the site of old Temples of Tanagra. The long distance which we traverse in passing to these buildings from the city of Tanagra, might still suggest the same reflection as was made by Pausanias,<sup>1</sup> that the idea which the inhabitants of Tanagra entertained of their Deities, was of a more reverential character than was usually to be found in Greek cities. This idea, he observed, was evinced by the free areas and fair sites, unembarrassed by surrounding edifices, and sequestered from the traffic of the city, which were selected by them for the abodes of their Deities.

There is an Inscription<sup>2</sup> of some interest on a stone in the walls of a Church which stands on the southern side of the Asopus, which we cross by the bridge above noticed, and is dedicated to St. Theodore, and is built almost entirely of ancient massive blocks. The former part of the inscription records in elegiac verse the dedication of a statue by a

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ix. 22. 3. *Ταναγραῖοι νομίσαι τὰ ἐς τοὺς Θεοὺς μάλιστα* (qu. *υάλλιστα*, i. e. *κάλλιστα*?) *δοκοῦσιν Ἑλλήνων. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ αἱ οἰκίαι σφισιν, χωρὶς δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς ἐν καθαρῷ τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἔκτος ἀνθρώπων.*

<sup>2</sup> This inscription has been very accurately copied by Colonel Leake, and published by him in the *Museum Criticum*, ii. 570, whence it is reprinted in *Rose Inscript. Gr. Vet.* p. 308; *Boeck. Corp. Inscr.* n. 1562. 1582; and *Welcker Inscr. Syllog.* p. 203. It is therefore not inserted here. The only variations supplied by my transcript are, line 1. *ANETHKE*. 5. *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ* (cf. *Dissen. Pindar. Pyth.* ii. 6.) 9. *ΔΙΟΤΣΚΟΠΙΔΑΝ*.



victor in a gymnastic contest; the latter is a fragment of an honorary decree conferring the rights of citizenship on a native of Athens in consideration of public services rendered to Tanagra.

This ancient Inscription is also of importance as supplying evidence that the site of Graimáda is that of Tanagra. We return to Oropó in the evening.



### CHAPTER III.

#### OROPUS.

Οὔτοι δ' εἰσὶν συοβοιωτοὶ κρουπεζοφόρων γένος ἀνδρῶν.

CRATINUS, p. 80. *Runkel*.

AN invitation has arrived this evening from Acharnæ, addressed to a neighbour of our Oropian host, requesting his presence at a wedding which is to take place in the neighbourhood of that Attic borough. His attendance is especially desired on account of the qualifications which he brings with him: he is reputed to be very skilful in his performances on the Bœotian pipe, which is an essential accompaniment of such a ceremony. It would seem that the character is still sustained of the ancient minstrels of this district, and that the pipers (<sup>1</sup>χαριδῆς βομβαύλιοι) of Bœotia are still in request. But their courage seems to have diminished. On a former occasion <sup>2</sup> they were represented on the Athenian stage as marching manfully with their instruments from Thebes to the Athenian market; and that too in a time of international hostility. But our Bœotian minstrel cannot be persuaded to expose himself to the dangers of the road from Oropus to Acharnæ, although the person who invites him is no other than the wife of the Greek military chief, Captain Vassos, whose soldiers are in

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. Acharn. 851.

<sup>2</sup> Acharn. 868.



uncontrolled possession of this province. The character of a bard is no longer sufficiently sacred, nor is the passport of their chief enough respected, to procure him protection from these bandits. Some of them are known to be at no great distance from this place. Last night a neighbouring sheepfold suffered from their depredations. He therefore declines the invitation.<sup>1</sup> He informs the wife of the Acharnian chief that she must find herself a minstrel nearer her own home.

αὐλησεῦντι δὲ οἱ δύο ποιμένες, εἰς μὲν Ἀχαρνέας.<sup>2</sup>

*To her of Pipers twain one shall Acharnæ send.*

There are few remains of antiquity at Oropó. The modern cottages are built round a low hill. Some large blocks of hewn stone are all that remains of the fortifications of a town which was, on account of its site, so long the object of military contention to its two powerful neighbours. A few mutilated<sup>3</sup> inscriptions are all that survives of the Literature of a City, which formerly gave occasion to the introduction of Greek Philosophy into the Schools and Palaces of Rome.<sup>4</sup>

We descend from Oropó to the sea. The road terminates after two miles at the small bay called Ai Apostólus (ἐς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> It will be remembered that these paragraphs were written twenty years ago; they are retained in the present edition of these Notes, as historical records of the internal state of Greece at that time.

<sup>2</sup> Theocrit. vii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> They are principally sepulchral.

(1)  
ΖΩΣΙΜΗ  
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

(2)  
ΒΟΥΛΑΡΧΗ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ

(3)  
ΖΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ  
ΚΑΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ

In the church of St. George on a marble sun-dial is

ΙΑΣΩΝ ΙΑΣΟΝΟΣ  
ΑΖΗΝΙΕΥΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ

<sup>4</sup> Aulus Gellius, vii. 14.



ἁγίους Ἀποστόλους, at the Holy Apostles), most probably the site of Delphinium, which was once the harbour of Oropus. Of this identity we have some evidence in the modern usage of the place for the same commercial purposes. Apostólus is now the wharf of Oropó (σκᾶλα τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ) : it is the port from which passengers embark for Eubœa. This was the case with Delphinium. The name itself of Apostólus may have been given on account of its maritime character. The vessels which left its harbour, the voyages which were here commenced, suggested, by the terms in which they were described, the present dedication of the place to the Holy Apostles ; and the piety of the Greek Church availed itself of the suggestion.

At Apostólus there are few vestiges : there is a tumulus with a sarcophagus near it, and an ancient well. On our right is a hill with a middle-age tower, probably erected to command the harbour. The convenience of the place has induced Vassos, the Greek Capitano mentioned above, to select it as the site of a large house, which he is now erecting on the spot.

It seems probable that Oropus itself occupied in earlier times a site on the sea-shore.<sup>2</sup> The founders of Greek cities very frequently chose a maritime situation ; or, if an inland one was selected, it had those recommendations of natural strength, which, though affording less facility for acquiring wealth, supplied security for maintaining it. But the site of the modern Oropó has neither the strength of an inland nor the opportunities of a maritime position. Yet choice of both was offered at no great distance. That offer was not

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπόστολα πλοῖα (see Plato Epist. vii.) The ἀπόστολοι were superintended by officers called Ἀποστολεῖς. Harpocrat. in v.

<sup>2</sup> Hence we may propose to reconcile the discrepancies in the estimate of the distance from Oropus to Tanagra noticed above, p. 10, 11, see below, p. 25.



I think declined. Perhaps Oropus stood on the sea-shore at the time of the Peloponnesian war. <sup>1</sup> The historian of that war seems to refer to such a situation; <sup>2</sup> and evidence exists of its removal from the coast to an inland position; that transfer was probably not permanent; for the inhabitants of Oropus were renowned in later times for the grasping exactions levied on all imports into their country; a character which seems to imply that their city was a sea-port. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. iii. 91. He speaks of *sailing* to, and *anchoring at*, Oropus: ἐκ τῆς Μήλου ἔπλευσαν εἰς Ὀρωπὸν τῆς πέραν γῆς, εὐθὺς δὲ σχόοντες—viii. 95. ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρωποῦ ἀπήγαγε τὰς ναῦς. Pausanias, i. 34, places it on the coast.

<sup>2</sup> B.C. 402, by the Bœotians. Diodor. xiv. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Dicæarchus, p. 12. ἡ πόλις Ὀρωπίων ΟΙΚΙΑ Θηβῶν ἐστίν, μεταβολέων ἐργασία, . . . τελωνοῦσι πάντα τὰ μέλλοντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰσάγεσθαι τραχεῖς ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις. On comparing this character of the Oropians with the similar one which Dicæarchus gives of the Thebans (p. 15), whom the Oropians strove to *imitate* (p. 12), I suspect he wrote, instead of the unintelligible ΟΙΚΙΑ, ἡ πόλις τῶν Ὀρωπίων CKIA Θηβῶν ἐστί, *The city of Oropus is the shadow of Thebes* (σκιά Θηβῶν). This expression is in the fanciful spirit of that writer. Of the confusion between αἰκίη and σκιή, in this sense of σκιά, see Bentley's Phalaris, p. 137, on λόγος ἔργου σκιά, and οἰκία and σκιά, are sometimes confused in MSS., as e. g. in Andocides (p. 112. Bekker) where for ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν, the best MS. has ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκίαν.



## CHAPTER IV.

### APHIDNÆ.

Πᾶ μοι τὰ ΔΑΦΝΑΙ;

THEOC. ii. 1.

*Where are my Bay-trees vanish'd ?*

THE Abbé Barthélèmy, whose *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis* is an agreeable companion in Attica, promises us on the road from Oropus to Athens, on which we now are, some pleasant objects, which we cannot discover. His imaginary travellers, in their journey from Athens to Oropus at the beginning of spring, found, he tells us, the road sheltered by *bay-tree* groves.<sup>1</sup> Before their arrival at Oropus they visit the temple of Amphiaraus, which was agreeably situated in the neighbourhood of limpid streams.

The promise of this scenery on the way was derived by the learned Abbé from a supposed assurance of Aristotle's scholar Dicæarchus, who made a Tour in Greece, and some fragments of whose Journal still remain. "From Athens," says Dicæarchus (according to the *present* editions of that Journal), <sup>2</sup>εἰς Ὀρωπὸν διὰ ΔΑΦΝΙΔΩΝ καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Διὸς ἱεροῦ ὁδὸς ἐλευθέρῳ βαδίζοντι σχεδὸν ἡμέρας πρόσαντα," thus rendered by all the editors, : "*From Athens to Oropus is an*

<sup>1</sup> iii. p. 235. chap. xxxiv. Nous partimes d'Athènes dans les premiers jours du mois Munychion. Nous arrivâmes le soir même à Orope, par un chemin assez rude, mais ombragé en quelques endroits *de bois de lauriers*.

<sup>2</sup> Dicæarch. p. 11.



*ascending road of about a day's journey to an expeditious pedestrian, which passes through BAY-TREE Groves, and the Temple of Zeus Amphiaraus."*

First, as to this Temple of Amphiaraus, its site has been fixed, by aid of ancient inscriptions found on the spot, at about three miles from Apostólus, near a stream in a deep valley which we cross in our ascent to the modern village of <sup>1</sup>Kalamo. And here it may be remarked, that this <sup>2</sup>Oracle of Amphiaraus would hardly have occurred in the road from Athens to Oropus, had Oropus been on the site of Oropó, and not, as has been above suggested, on the sea. The road would then have passed at some distance to the west of the Temple, and not, as it did, immediately by it.

But however this may be—with respect to the *other* features of the route—the *Bay-tree* groves can hardly plead as an excuse for their absence, that Time, which has ruined the Temple, has also uprooted them. There is in fact no evidence that they ever existed. They have been planted upon these hills by modern <sup>3</sup>geographers, out of the fertile nursery-garden of a mis-print. The word ΔΑΦΝΙΔΩΝ, in the text of Dicæarchus, is an error of his transcribers: it is not Greek; and besides, what topographer would ever have described a route of about thirty miles, which is the distance of Athens to Oropus, by telling his readers that it passed through

<sup>1</sup> See Colonel Leake's valuable Memoir on the Demi of Attica, p. 201 (in Transactions of Royal Soc. of Lit. vol. i.) The inscriptions are now in the British Museum, Nos. 368, 378.

<sup>2</sup> Where games were celebrated in his honour. In Philemon's Lexicon Technolog. p. 42. (ed. Burney.) πολλοὶ ἄγονται ἁγῶνες ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ τὰ καλούμενα Ἐρώτεια, Βασίλεια, καὶ Τροφώνεια, ἐν δὲ Ὀρωπῷ τὰ Ἀμφίκαια—the last word should be written Ἀμφιαρᾶια. See Schol. Pind. Ol. vii. 154. and Welcker Philostrat. p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> Kruse also (Hellas. ii. p. 283) speaks of this country as being, "einer Gegend, wo der weisse lehmichte Boden, den schon *Dicæarch.* bemerkte, Lorbeerbäume auf der Hohen ernährte."



“bay-trees and a temple?” To give his description any value some known place or Town would have been specified in it. The passage is corrupt. And how is the corruption to be removed? By an easy transposition, changing the unintelligible expression ΔΙΑ ΔΑΦΝΙΔΩΝ into ΔΙ’ ΑΦΙΔΝΩΝ, *i. e.* “through Aphidnae.” The Attic borough APHIDNÆ was near Deceleia,<sup>1</sup> and Deceleia was in the road from Athens to Oropus,<sup>2</sup> that is, on the road which Dicæarchus is describing. And the verbal confusion of ΑΦΙΔΝΩΝ with ΔΑΦΝΙΔΩΝ was easy for transcribers to make, and was frequently made.<sup>3</sup> Deceleia was 120 stadia from Athens.<sup>4</sup> Hence assuming—from Herodotus compared with Dicæarchus—that Aphidnæ was near <sup>5</sup>Deceleia, whose direction and distance from Athens are known, we are now enabled to fix the site of the important fortress APHIDNÆ; the asylum of Helen, the borough of the poet <sup>6</sup>Tyrtæus, and of the two illustrious friends, <sup>7</sup>Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Other topographical consequences may be deduced from this result. The two Attic villages of <sup>8</sup>Perrhidæ and <sup>9</sup>Titacidæ

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. ix. 73. λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελείας κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. vii. 28. ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρωποῦ κατὰ γῆν διὰ τῆς Δεκελείας.

<sup>3</sup> In the passage of Herodotus, for ΑΦΙΔΝΑΣ the Sancroft MS. has the same error, ΑΦΝΙΔΑΣ. This word has been singularly fruitful in this confusion. In Demosth. 238. 17. for Ἀφίδναν, Bekker's MSS. S.Q.O. u. have Ἀφνίδα, and F.Y. p. v. give Ἀφνίδα: again in Plutarch Thes. c. 32. and in Harpocrat. v. Θυργωνίδαι, Αφνιδαῖος was written for Ἀφιδναῖος before the edition of Valesius.

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. vii. 19, cf. vii. 18. 27. vi. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Callimachus. Frag. cccxxiv. refers to a summons of Tyrtæus from Deceleia. Ανδρέλεοι Δεκελειόθεν ἀμπρένουντες, which may perchance be corrected thus, Ἀνδρ' ἀλαδν κ. τ. λ. <sup>6</sup> Cp. Müller's Dorians, i. p. 172.

<sup>7</sup> Plutarch. Sympos. i. qu. x. Whence the peculiar propriety of the reference to their examples in the speech of Miltiades before the battle of Marathon to the General Callimachus, who was an *Aphidnaean*. Herod. vi. 109.

<sup>8</sup> Hesych. in v. Περρίδαι.

<sup>9</sup> Steph. Byz. v. Τιτακίδαι. Cp. Herod. ix. 73, where Helen is *discovered*



were connected by relationship and vicinity with the town of Aphidnæ. The determination of their positions hangs as a corollary on that now ascertained, of Aphidnæ, their more important and illustrious neighbour.

The position of Aphidnæ thus found reflects light on a decree cited by <sup>1</sup>Demosthenes in his celebrated oration for the Crown. When Philip had advanced south of Thermopylæ and threatened Athens with an invasion, it was enacted that all citizens of Attica who were within 120 stadia of Athens should repair to the Capital, or to the Piræus; and that those who lived at a greater distance than 120 stadia from Athens should remove themselves and their property to Eleusis, Phyle, *Aphidnæ*, Rhamnus, or Sunium. The reader will observe the position of these places, and the order in which they are mentioned; he will perceive that they were the five keys, the *cinqve ports* (if we may use the expression of inland as well as maritime places) of Attica, lying beyond the radius specified in the decree.

Wishing to take RHAMNUS and MARATHON in our way to Athens, we diverge from Kalamo in a south-easterly direction. The route lies over a mountain tract broken into frequent ravines by the torrents which fall from the higher summits on our right. It ascends with more or less rapidity, till we arrive near a spot called Gliáthi, on the broad tops of Mount Barnaba. Here is a magnificent view, which extends on the west over the highest ridge of Mount Parnes (Nozià), and catches a glimpse of the shining waters of the Saronic gulf. To the south of us at a small distance are the high peaks of Tirlos. They are probably those of the ancient

at Aphidnæ to the Tyndaridæ by Decelus (f. δέικω) of Deceleia, and Aphidnæ is betrayed to them by *Titacus* the indigenous monarch (τίταξ βασιλεὺς, Hesych.) of the Titacidæ. The modern village of *Tatoï* may preserve in its name a vestige of this demus. <sup>1</sup> P. 238. 17.



Brilessus.<sup>1</sup> Beneath us on our left is the strait of the Eubœan sea.

The surface of these hills is sprinkled with low shrubs. But there are no timber trees. We may console ourselves for the dreary barrenness of the country, by adopting Plato's belief, that in better days it was shaded by stately trees now no more.<sup>2</sup>

At Gliáthi, a little to the right of the road, are some well-preserved remains of an ancient<sup>3</sup> military Tower, constructed with well-joined polygonal stones. It had one entrance looking to the west, which was defended by two doors, one opening inwards, the other outwards. There are also two loopholes in the walls.

This building is an interesting illustration of the importance of the line of communication over these mountains to Athens, the value of which was best proved by its loss. A little to the west of the tower is a spring of water, with the remains of ancient substructions, and a bas-relief lying near it of very good execution, but too much mutilated to warrant any conjecture on its subject.

We proceed for about three miles till we arrive at the verge of this broad mountain area. It begins now to descend towards a plain which communicates with the field of Marathon, and then terminates in the sea.

After a descent of half an hour we arrive at the Albanian village of Grammaticó, where we pass the night.

<sup>1</sup> There may indeed be some verbal connexion between Mount Barnaba and Parnes (Πάρνηθα accus.) on the one hand, and Tirlos or Trilos and Βριλησσός on the other.

<sup>2</sup> Plato. Critia. iii. c. πολλήν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὕλην εἶχεν.

<sup>3</sup> The dimensions are : Tower 24 ft. square ; greatest height about 30 ft. The width of the door at bottom 5 ft. 3 in. ; at top 4 ft. 2 in. Windows 2 ft. broad at top. The lintel of the door 8 ft. in length.



## CHAPTER V.

### RHAMNUS.

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Ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἰγες, ὄϊες, βόες, ὄρνιθες καὶ τὰ ἐκγονα αὐτῶν. τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῶ ἔνδου ἐτρέφετο· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὕσπρια καὶ οἶνος κριθινὸς ἐν κρατῆρσι—ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα διασκηνήσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθημεν.<sup>1</sup>—XENOPH. EXPED. CYR. iv. 5.

*In their houses were goats, sheep, kine, fowls, and their offspring: their cattle were foddered with provender within: there was wheat and barley, and legumes, and barley wine in bowls: in this way, having taken up our quarters, we passed the night.*

THIS picture, originally drawn for an Armenian dwelling, well represents the interior of an Albanian cottage in which we are housed for the evening. It consists of one room with a clay floor, and thatched roof. At one end, near the middle of the wall, on the ground, a fire is blazing with a fresh supply of wood. At one side of the fire our páplomas<sup>1</sup> are strewed, which in the day-time serve for saddles, and for couches by night. The fire is employed in boiling some rice for our repast. On the other side of it sit two Albanian women twirling their spindles, and occasionally uttering a few syllables, before they put between their teeth the flax to be wound on the spindle. Another is engaged in kneading some cakes to be placed among the wood-ashes of the fire, and baked. The master of the house stands at the door,

<sup>1</sup> πάπλωμα, i. e. πέπλωμα, serving for the same uses as the ancient στρώματα.



with his scarlet scull-cap on his head, a belt girding his white cotton tunic, over which is a shorter vest of woollen, thick woollen gaiters, and sandals consisting merely of a sole of untanned leather tied with leathern thongs over the instep. About him are some children, whose necks glitter with gilded coins strung in a necklace.

On the wall of the cottage hangs a loom (*ἐργαλεῖον*), which has probably not altered its form since the contest of Minerva with Arachne: near it are some bins filled with acorns of the Balanià oak, which will be exported for dyeing. There are also some silk-works (*κουκουλιὰ*) lying near them, from which the silk (*μεταξι*) is soon to be unwound, and some husks of the cotton-plant (*bambàki*) bursting with their snow-white contents.

As the night comes on, these objects are dimly illumined by the fire. Ere long, all the children of the family are laid side by side on one mantle on the floor, at the more distant end of the apartment. The master of the house terminates this domestic series, consisting of ten persons, and if we may venture so to speak, sleep comes and strings all the members of the family together, like a row of beads, in one common slumber. Separated from them by a low partition, is the place allotted to the irrational inmates of the dwelling. The fowls come there from the open air and roost on the rafters of the roof; the ox stands at his manger, and eats his evening meal: and the white faces of three asses are seen peering from the darkness, and bending over their sleeping master and his children.

The time and place, the group and the glimmering light, recal to the memory a more solemn scene—a Christmas præsepe—such as would have been drawn by the vigorous and rustic pencil of Bassano; and the divine parable (Luke xi. 7) occurs here to the mind.

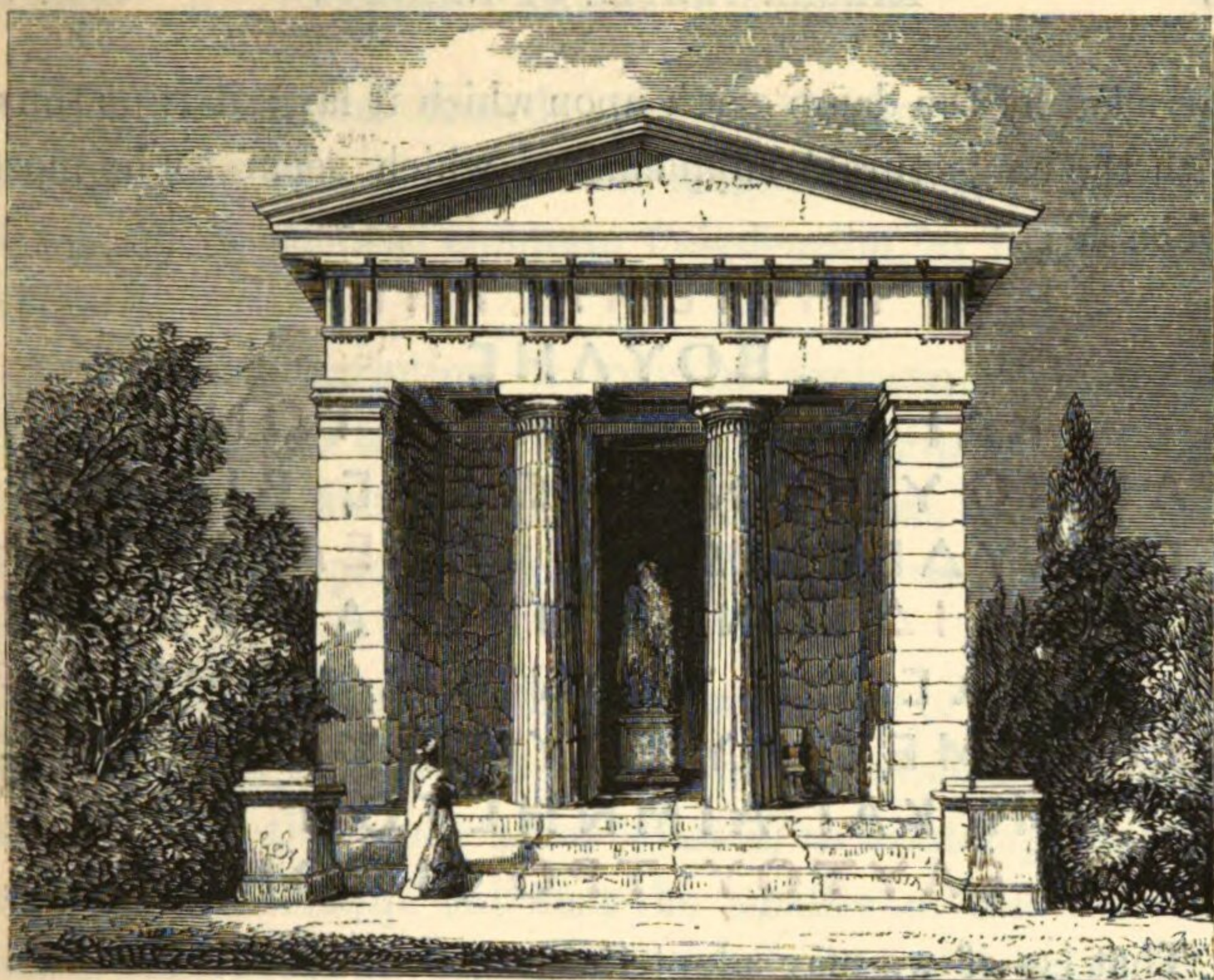


Our host conducts us the next morning from Grammatico to some ruins to the east of the village, which are the remains of the ancient RHAMNUS. The path lies over some low hills scattered over with groups of wild pear (*ἄγρια ἀπιδία*), heath (*ἐρείκη*), and arbutus (*κομαριά*). In an hour and a half we arrive at the ruins.

Their position is remarkable. The ground is covered with dense clumps of lentisk (*σχῖνο*). There is no house visible. A long woody ridge runs eastward to the sea; on each side of it is a ravine running parallel to it. On the eastern extremity of this ridge is a small rocky peninsula, which was the site of the town of Rhamnus. The ruins first mentioned are those of its two Temples, which stand at a few minutes' walk to the west of this peninsula on the higher ground, at which we first arrived.

Among the lentisk-bushes which entangle the path there, we were suddenly surprised with the sight of a long wall of pure white marble, the blocks of which, though of irregular forms, are joined with exquisite symmetry. This wall runs eastward, and meets another of similar masonry abutting upon it at right angles. They form two sides of a platform on which are heaps of scattered fragments of columns, mouldings, statues, and reliefs. The outline of two edifices standing nearly from north to south are distinctly traceable, which are almost contiguous, and nearly though not quite parallel to each other. These two edifices were Temples; and this terrassed platform was their *τέμενος* or sacred enclosure. The western of these two fabrics, to judge from its smaller size and ruder architecture, was of earlier date than the other. It consisted of a simple cella, *in antis*: the remains of the other Temple show that it possessed a double portico and a splendid peristyle. It had twelve columns on the flank, and six on each front.





The smaller Temple at Rhamnus restored, from the publication of the Dilettanti Society.

The modern towns of Italy have their patron saint, and the ancient villages of Attica had in most cases their tutelary deity. Hercules was the hero of Marathon: Amphiaraus was worshipped at Oropus: Diana in the villages of Brauron, Athmonum, and Myrrhinus: and Rhamnus gave a name to the goddess Nemesis. Which of these two temples which stand on this terrace, was consecrated to that deity?

The Rhamnusian goddess, so Nemesis was called, seems to have a natural claim to the noblest edifice in her own city. The larger and more modern of these temples has therefore been assigned to her.

This opinion seems reasonable, and we find some evidence of its truth on the site itself. In rambling among the ruined blocks of building, we light on a large slab lying on its face. On turning it over, we find it traced with an ancient inscription: a part is broken off, the rest is much



corroded by the damp earth upon which it lay : it runs thus, with the conjectural<sup>1</sup> supplements which seem to be most probable :

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΤΗΣ  
ΒΟΥΛΗΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΤΩΝ  
ΡΑΜΝΟΥΣΙΩΝ ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΒΙΒΟΥΛ-  
ΛΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΙΩΝΑ ΙΠΠΕΑ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ  
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ Ο ΘΡΕΨΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛ-  
ΗΣΑΣ ΩΣ ΥΙΟΝ ΤΗ ΝΕΜΕ-  
ΣΕΙ Η ΜΕΤ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΘΥΕΝ ΕΥΜΕ-  
ΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΟΝ ΤΟΝ  
ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΝ

That is—if we may adopt the proposed additions—

ψήφισμα τῆς  
βουλῆς  
καὶ τοῦ Δήμου τῶν  
Ῥαμνουσίων Ἡρώδης Βιβούλ-  
λιον Πολυδευκίωνα ἵππεα ἀνέθηκεν  
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, ὃ θρέψας καὶ φιλ-  
ήσας ὡς υἱόν, τῇ Νεμε-  
σει, ᾗ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔθυεν, εὐ-  
μενῇ καὶ αἰμνηστον τὸν  
ἑαυτοῦ τροφίμον. . .

*A decree of the Senate and people of Rhamnus : Herodes dedicates a statue of Vibullius Polydeucion an Eques, whom he reared and loved as his own son, at his own cost to NEMESIS, to whom he used to sacrifice in company with him, his own affectionate and ever-remembered foster-child.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The supplementary or conjectural portion in this and following inscriptions, is distinguished from the rest by red ink.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Boeck. Corp. Ins. n. 995. On this Polydeuces the τροφίμος of Herodes, see Philostrat. Vit. Sophist. ii. 1. 10, Πολυδεύκην καὶ Μέμνονα ἴσα γνησίοις ἐπένθησε τροφίμους ὄντας ; and an inscription found at Cephissià near another villa of Herodes (Marm. Oxon. lx.) ; and that copied by Fourmont, Boeck Inscr. n. 992. Concerning Vibullius, see the observation of Boeck and n. 995. See also Gibbon, chap. ii., concerning Herodes.



This inscription records the dedication by Herodes Atticus, who had a villa in this neighbourhood, of a statue of one of his adopted children, Polydeucion, to the goddess Nemesis.

From this inscription, it may be conjectured that the *larger* of the two temples, in which the inscription lies, was dedicated to NEMESIS. The question arises, to whom was the *smaller* temple consecrated, which nearly touches the former.

It has been inferred, from the discrepancy of age in these two buildings, together with their very unsymmetrical local combination, that they never existed as contemporaneous temples for worship, but that the smaller of the two was either destroyed or fell into decay, before the larger was erected.

When the <sup>1</sup> Persians invaded Attica, they destroyed the Greek temples of which they acquired possession. When they landed at Marathon they probably employed some of their force in this work of demolition. The earlier temple at Rhamnus may have been one of their victims. After the battle, a statue, we are told, was wrought from the <sup>2</sup> Parian marble which the Persians brought as material for a trophy of the anticipated victory, and dedicated to the Rhamnusian Nemesis. This statue was, perhaps, one of the ornaments of the second more magnificent temple which the Athenians erected in honour of the goddess, who, according to their belief, had exercised in their favour her

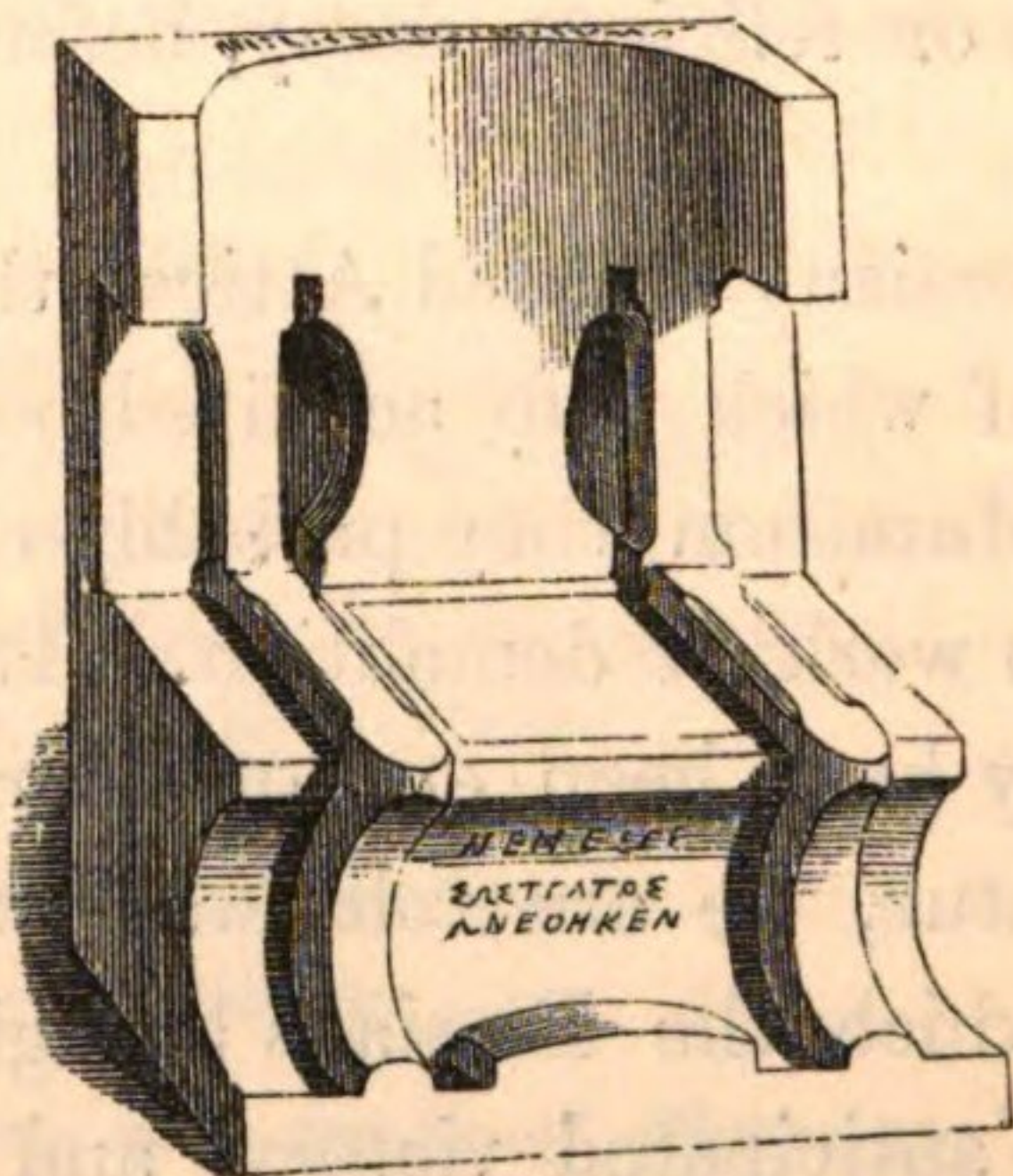
<sup>1</sup> Cic. de Legg. ii. 10. Magis auctoribus Xerxes *inflammâsse templa* (πυμπράναι νεώς. Æschyl. Pers. 815.) Græcorum dicitur. Cp. Plutarch Vit. Themist. p. 439, ed Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> The singular story of the Parian origin and Persian transport of the marble block from which the statue of Nemesis was made, rests on the single authority of Pausanias (i. 33. 2.) It has therefore been suspected. Did the error arise from the circumstance, that Paros was not the native



appropriate functions of chastising the insolence of presumptuous men, especially of such as had outraged the sanctity of her worship.

<sup>1</sup> Such is the supposition by which the awkward position of these two temples has been explained. It seems to be partially true, but not in its full extent. The earlier temple was probably destroyed, but not at the time here assigned. This may be shown from two interesting monuments which still stand in the vestibule of the earlier and smaller temple. They are two chairs (*θρόνοι*) of white marble, one on each side of the entrance to it. Now, we see inscribed on the plinth of the chair which is on the <sup>2</sup> *right* of the door of the temple,



country of the statue, but was of the supposed sculptor, Agoracritus? Tzetz. Chil. vii. 930. Φειδίας

ἀγαλματώσας κάλλιστα Φειδιακῇ τῇ τέχνῃ  
τὸ ἐν Ραμνοῦντι ἄγαλμα Νεμέσεως Διὸς τε  
ἐκεῖνο ἀνατίθησιν ἐπιγραφὴν χαράξας  
Ἀγορακρίτου ἄγαλμα τοῦτό ἐστιν Παρίου.

<sup>1</sup> Kruse Hellas. Attica. cap. vi. p. 278. Compare Unedited Antiquities of Attica, published by the Society of Dilettanti, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> That on the *left* is inscribed thus,

ΘΕΜΙΔΙ  
ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ  
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ.



N E M E Σ E I  
Σ Ω Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ Ο Σ  
Α Ν Ε Θ Η Κ Ε Ν

*To Nemesis Sostratus dedicated this.*

It does not seem to be probable that these chairs were dedicated in this temple *after* its destruction. And what example can be found of a Greek inscription written in such characters as these, and belonging to an era *antecedent* to the battle of Marathon? Its *long vowels* show that it is not of such antiquity, and that it is not earlier than the age of Pericles.

The destruction therefore of the earlier temple could not have taken place at the time supposed.

Both these temples were dedicated to Nemesis. This is proved by the two inscriptions above cited. It must, I think, be granted that the former temple was in ruins before the latter was erected, on the grounds before stated. An Athenian temple would not have been demolished by Athenians. At what period, then, did *foreigners* possess the inclination and the power to destroy a temple in Attica? The range of time in which this period is to be sought is defined by two limits. The earlier limit is furnished by the probable date of the inscription on these chairs: the later by that to which, from its style, the second temple may be assigned. In looking between these two limits for an occasion in which such an event as the destruction of the earlier temple might have taken place, we are naturally attracted to the close of the Peloponnesian war.

It seems not improbable that the victorious antagonists of Athens wreaked their vengeance at that time on the public buildings of their vanquished rival. The Long Walls of Athens were not the sole sufferers. But the *sacred*



buildings, it may be objected, would have been protected from their outrages by the respect for national religion which a Greek victor would feel. This is admitted. But a Greek victor was then leagued with a Persian ally.<sup>1</sup> The Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus was a signal monument of Persian ignominy.

It was a memorial of Athenian glory won from Persia on the field of Marathon. It would be regarded by the Persian with the same exasperation with which a French soldier may behold the Belgian Lion on the field of Waterloo. The feeling of indignation would not be idle, when an occasion was given, such as we have supposed, for its exercise. Perhaps Nemesis suffered then from the exercise, in the hands of others, of her own functions.

We leave the temples, and walk eastward down a narrow glen to the rocky peninsula on which the town of Rhamnus stood. Its remains are considerable. We enter the western gate, flanked by towers, and follow the line of the southern wall toward the sea. This wall is well preserved; and is about twenty feet in height: the part of the town which borders on the sea is rendered very strong by its position on the edge of high perpendicular rocks. The fortress of Rhamnus, though not large, was thus well adapted to answer the purposes for which it was used, as one of the maritime keys of Attica.

The beauty of its site and natural features, enhanced by the interest attached to the spot, may well attract the traveller. Standing on this peninsular knoll, the site of the ancient city, among walls and towers gray with age, with the sea behind and Attica before, we look up a woody

<sup>1</sup> Demosthen. 197. 21, εὐρήσετε τὸν βασιλέα τὴν πόλιν διὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀσθενῇ ποιήσαντα.



glen towards its termination in an elevated platform, where, as on a natural basement, the temples stood, of which even the ruined walls, of white shining marble, now show beautifully to the eye through the veil of green shade that screens them.

If Nicolas Poussin had ever left Italy to travel in Greece, and applied himself to the delineation of Greek landscape, he might have chosen Rhamnus as a favoured scene for the exercise of his pencil. He would then perhaps have introduced into the landscape one who was connected with this place, who derived his name from it, and was remarkable for his genius, his actions, and his misfortunes. Antipho the Rhamnusian would have been in his place here. And if the painter might have been allowed further licence, he would perhaps have imagined as appearing at the verge of this sylvan glen and descending from it, the scholar of Antipho, the historian of the Peloponnesian war, Thucydides, arriving from Athens, having crossed the field of Marathon, to come and listen here, in such a scene as this to the words of such a master.

We return toward the temple by the ridge above mentioned; it was fortified by walls parallel to itself both on the north and south. It is not easy to explore their bearings, the whole surface being overgrown with a very thick prickly shrub, which prevents our progress, and suggests the reason for the ancient name by which the city was called.<sup>1</sup>

ἐν γὰρ ὄρει ῥαμνοί τε καὶ ἀσπάλαθοι κομόωντι.

*For the sharp rhamnus mantles o'er the hills.*

<sup>1</sup> From ῥαμνόεις, — οὐς. Compare the remark of Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 586. on the similar *botanical* names of the Attic Demi Μυρρινούς, Ἀγνούς, &c. to which may be added, Μαραθών, Φηγοῦς, Ἀχραδοῦς, Ἀναγυροῦς, and Ἐλαιοῦς. The modern name of Rhamnus is Ὀβριδ-Καστρο, for Ἐβραῖο-



Κάστρο, Jews-Castle. (See Koray. Atakta, i, p. 55. λέγουν Ὀβριδὲς ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἑβραῖος, as ὀχθρὸς, for ἐχθρὸς, ὄξω for ἔξω). The term Ἑβραῖο seems to be applied to persons or things in a forlorn or wandering state. Ὀβριδὲς νῆσι is a *desert* island east of Corinth : so ὀβριδὲς ποτάμι. It is a significant fact, that the name "*Hebrew*" should now be synonymous with "*desolate*." Somewhat in the same way the term Γύψο-Κάστρο (Gypsy-Castle) is now applied in Greece to a ruined and uninhabited fortress.



## CHAPTER VI.

### MARATHON.

Πάντες, Μιλτιάδη, τὰ σ' ἀρήϊα ἔργα ἴσασιν  
Πέρσαι· καὶ Μαραθῶν σῆς ἀρετῆς τέμενος.

INSCRIPT. AP. GRUT. p. 438.

*From thee, Miltiades, THE EAST did flee ;  
And MARATHON a TEMPLE is to Thee.*

OCT. 12.

AFTER an hour and a half from Rhamnus we reach the plain of MARATHON. It is a still afternoon, the sky is lowering, and the plain has a dreary aspect ; it extends in length six miles along the shore, and rather more than two inland ; it looks brown and dry, and has no hedges, and few prominent objects of any kind : here and there is a stunted wild pear-tree, there are some low pines by the sea-shore ; and one or two small solitary chapels in ruins rising out of the plain. There is no house visible except on the inland skirts of the plain ; and a few peasants ploughing on it at a distance with slow teams of small oxen are the only living creatures to be seen.

In this solitary expanse the eye is arrested by one object, rising above the surface of the plain more conspicuously than anything else. That, is the Tumulus which covers the bodies of those Athenians who fell in the battle of Marathon. It was wise to bury these Athenian warriors together under such a tomb in the place on which they fell. No one can



find himself alone with such an object as this, and not feel a sense of awe; here he may almost realise the power of that solemn adjuration which, in the mouth of Demosthenes, produced an electric thrill in the minds of the Athenian audience, *Μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι*. Here also stood the trophy of Miltiades, which haunted Themistocles, and would not suffer him to sleep,<sup>1</sup> and had no small effect on the fortunes of Greece at Salamis.

The plain is hemmed in near the sea by a marsh<sup>2</sup> on each side. It was fortunate for Athens that the battle was not fought in the summer, but in the autumn; particularly if that autumn was a rainy one. Pressed in on both sides by these morasses, which then would have been inundated, the Persian force had not free scope to bring its vast multitude to bear. Here they were embarrassed by their own numbers: hence it was, that at these morasses the greatest slaughter of the Persians took place.<sup>3</sup> Hence too these Marshes were honoured with a place in the Athenian pictures of the battle of Marathon: the figures of Minerva and Hercules were exhibited in the frescoes on the walls of the *Pœcile* at Athens in the front of the fight,<sup>4</sup> and the water of these Marshes was seen gleaming in the back-ground of the picture.

The *time* of the *day*, as well as the season of the *year* in which the battle was fought, deserves notice. It is men-

<sup>1</sup> Cic. Tusc. Disp. iv. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Callimach. ap. Suid. v. *Μαραθῶν*. Callimachus called it *ἐννότιον Μαραθῶνα* . . . *τοῦτεστι δίνυγρον* . . . Schol. Plat. p. 140. *Μαραθῶν* . . . *τραχὺς δυσίππαστος, ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ πηλοὺς, τενάγη, λίμνας*. (Some of these scholia evince a personal acquaintance with Attic topography: see p. 105. on *διὰ μέσου τεῖχος*). Herod. vi. 102. seems to speak in rather too unqualified terms, when he calls Marathon *ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι*. It is singular that he does not mention the *marshes* of Marathon.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. i. 32. 7. *λίμνη ἐλώδης* . . . *τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν φόνον τὸν πολὺν ἐπὶ τούτῳ συμβῆναι λέγουσι*.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. i. 15.



tioned incidentally—and the expression seems to be one of traditional gratitude, that the crisis of the victory was in the *evening*,

ἀλλ' ὅμως σφ' ἀπεωσάμεσθα, ξὺν θεοῖς, πρὸς ἑσπέρα.<sup>1</sup>

*Heav'n be thanked! we routed them, when first the day began to wane.*

*That Evening* was introduced into the scenery of the Athenian recollections of Marathon, just as Aurora and Hesperus sculptured on the column of Trajan in his Forum at Rome enter into the representations of his victories, being the symbols of times of day in which those victories were achieved. The hour of the day, combined with the local bearings of the plain of Marathon, may have conduced much to the success of the Athenians. The sun would then have streamed in full and dazzling radiance, so remarkable in the sunsets of Greece, on the faces of their adversaries, and against it the conical tiara of the Persians would have offered little protection.

The ancient topography of the plain has been clearly illustrated, especially by Colonel Leake. The northern marsh<sup>2</sup> (Δρακονερά) is fed mainly by a source anciently called Macaria, from the daughter of<sup>3</sup> Hercules, who devoted herself to death in behalf of the Heracleidæ, before the victory which they gained over the Argive Eurystheus on this plain. Near this fountain was the<sup>4</sup> marshy village of Tricorythus,

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. Vesp. 1080.

<sup>2</sup> From its size and copiousness considered as a prodigy by the neighbouring inhabitants, and therefore called Δρακονερά. Δράκο is in Romaic a common expression for any marvellous object.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo viii. p. 377. Hercules was the hero of Marathon. The fountain was thus the daughter of the plain; and the mythological story of Macaria probably means nothing more than that this flowing stream rendered a similar service in battle to the Heracleidæ, which the marshes did subsequently to the Athenians in the engagement with the Persians.

<sup>4</sup> Hence Aristoph. Lys. 1032. ἐμπὶς Τρικορυσία.



one of the members of the Marathonian tetrapolis. It seems to have stood on the forked hills above the hamlet of Kato-Suli. It was probably so called from the triple peak<sup>1</sup> on which its citadel was built.

Skirting westward the inland margin of the plain from its N. W. angle, under the mountain of Stauro-koráki, we come to a stream which flows from a valley on our right; on its right bank are two Albanian villages; on its left, rather higher up, is the modern hamlet of Marathóna. This is probably the site of the ancient village of Marathon. The coincidence of the name is a strong argument. There is also a hill above it, part of Stauro-koráki, which on the spot we hear called Δῆλι; and which may suggest a question whether it does not preserve a record of the<sup>2</sup> Temple at Marathon, called Δήλιον, at which sacrifices were offered, before sacred processions embarked for the island of Delos. Further up the same valley is Œnoë, still known by its ancient name.

Returning down the valley, and following the roots of the hills, Kotróni and<sup>3</sup> Argalíki, the former of which is the southern boundary of the valley of Marathóna, the latter of the plain of Marathon, we end our circuit at the south-east angle of the plain.

This marsh is now called βάλτος<sup>4</sup> and βρεξίσι; terms both indicative of the humidity of the soil. A herdsman here informs us, that the water of the marsh is salt at its eastern

<sup>1</sup> The term Κόρυθος (from κόρυς a crest) is preserved in the Latin Corythus, the old name of the city Cortona in Etruria: it is another form of the word Κόρινθος, which city Cortona resembles in its lofty peaked acropolis.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Soph. Œd. Col. 1047. Elmsl.

<sup>3</sup> Which is the mountain of Παραίλεως; ὄρος ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι? (Hesych.)

<sup>4</sup> From ἄλς, as βέλη from ἔλη, &c. βρεξίσι is from βρέχω.



extremity, and that salt-water fish come up the stream there in the winter: the upper bank of it affords pasturage for his own cattle. <sup>1</sup> Pausanias heard nearly the same account of it when he was here.

Probalinthus, the fourth village of the Marathonian tetrapolis, was in this immediate neighbourhood. It is the first of the four mentioned by Strabo in his voyage northward. It is also in a different tribe from the other three; and that tribe seems to have originally comprised a district to the south of Marathon. Much stress cannot indeed be laid on this circumstance; but perhaps more topographical <sup>2</sup> inferences might be drawn from the arrangement of the Demi in their respective tribes than have yet been attempted.

Oct. 13.

The husband of our Albanian hostess at Zephíri, where we pass the night, was carried off a few nights ago by the klefts into the mountains, and they now demand for his ransom a thousand Turkish piastres, which are to be paid within a stated number of days. Such is now the state to

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 32. *ῥεῖ ποταμὸς ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, τὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ὕδωρ βοσκήμασιν ἐπιτήδειον παρεχόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἰχθύων θαλασσίων πληρὴς.*

<sup>2</sup> Probalinthus is a *δῆμος* of the Pandionis *φυλὴ*: in which were Myrrhinus, Prasiæ, Steiria, all locally near to, and south of Probalinthus: Marathon, Cenoë and Tricorythus are all in the tribe Æantis, which contained also Rhamnus, Aphidnæ, Perrhidæ, Titacidæ, and Psaphidæ, all in the same and more northern district. On the original classification of the demi, from local considerations, see the Dissertation in vol. i. p. 652, of Dr. Arnold's *Thucydides*. Valck. *Herod.* iii. 53. Siebel. *Paus.* i. 1. 3. Thirlwall's *Greece*, ii. pp. 74, 392. Demi were subsequently removed from one tribe into another. Harpocrat. v. *Θυργωνίδαι*. Niebuhr, *R. H.* i. p. 407. Müller (Art. *Attika* in *Ersch. and Gruber Encycl.* p. 227), observes, "Da nun die Kleisthenischen Phylen chorographisch waren, wie in Griechenland eben auch die Eleischen (Pausan. 5, 9.) die Ephesischen (Steph. *Βέννα*) die der Laconischen Periöken, (Orchomenos, p. 314) so müssen die Demei einer Phyle wie Ortschaften eines Kreises zusammen gelegen haben."



which the inhabitants of the Marathonian plain are reduced. It is impossible, without incurring great risk, to pass over Mount Pentelicus by the usual road from Marathon to Athens. On this account, after visiting the plain a second time this morning, we proceed along the lower grounds, near the sea. This is said to be the <sup>1</sup> safer road.

Our way lies along a plain covered with arbutus, pines, and lentisk. We pass a stream, and arrive at the village of Epikeráta, in about an hour, from Marathon. Further on is the village of Κραβάτα, where, in the church of the Madonna (Παναγία), are some sepulchral inscriptions:

ΝΙΚΩΝ  
ΤΕΩΝΟΣ  
ΓΑΡΓΗΤΤΙΟΣ

*Nicon the Son of Teon, of Gargettus.*

ΤΕΩΝ  
ΝΙΚΩΝΟΣ  
ΓΑΡΓΗΤΤΙΟΣ

ΦΑΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

These are the only villages on the road. After a ride of eight hours and a half, we arrive in the dark at the eastern gate of Athens.

<sup>1</sup> A Greek who left Marathon the same morning as we did, but crossed Mount Pentelicus, was stopped by klefts and plundered, as he informed us the morning after our arrival at Athens.



## CHAPTER VII.

### ATHENS.

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‘ΑΙΔ’ ΕΙΣ’ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ‘Η ΠΙΠΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ.

INSCRIPTION ON HADRIAN’S GATE AT ATHENS.

*This ATHENS is, the antique town of Theseus.*

THE town of Athens is now (A.D. 1832) lying in ruins. The streets are almost deserted: nearly all the houses are without roofs; the churches are reduced to bare walls and heaps of stones and mortar. There is but one church in which divine service is performed. A few new wooden houses, one or two of more solid structure, and the two lines of planked sheds which form the bazaar, are all the inhabited dwellings that Athens now can boast.

In this state of *modern* desolation, the grandeur of the ancient buildings which still survive is more striking, and their preservation is more wonderful. There is scarcely any building at Athens in so perfect a state as the Temple of Theseus. The least ruined objects are some of the ruins.

But however melancholy the aspect of objects around us, this very desolation itself has its value. It simplifies the picture, and leaves us alone with Antiquity. In this respect, Athens is superior to Rome, as a reflection of the ancient world. At Athens the ancient world is everything; at Rome it is only a part, and a very small one, of a great and varied whole. “*Romam sub Româ quærito*,” said Aringhi of



the vast remains of the Imperial City which were to be found in the catacombs beneath it; the same expression may be repeated of ancient Rome generally; ancient Rome is to be sought *beneath* the Rome of the middle ages, and beneath the Rome of the present day. On the Quirinal hill who thinks of Quirinus, while the Palazzo Quirinale dazzles him with its splendour? The ancient characters impressed on the Roman soil, are only descried with great labour through the modern surface of the illuminated missal of papal splendour, which has been superscribed over the classical MS. But Athens, though a tattered manuscript, is not yet, like Rome, a palimpsest.

Since our first arrival here on the thirteenth of October, 1832, we have been engaged in an excursion to Ægina, Nauplia, and some of the Islands of the Ægæan; and we are now at Athens for the second time. Having spent many weeks here, we begin to regard Athens as a temporary home. In the present troubled state of affairs in this country, Athens is now, not merely the most agreeable, but also the most secure residence in Greece.

We are lodged in a small house in that quarter of Athens which was once called the *Inner Ceramicus*: and our nearest neighbour is the TEMPLE OF THESEUS. Formerly its site was in the heart of the city: it is now on the extreme verge of the modern town, to the west of it. There are few other buildings near it. At a little distance to the south a peasant is engaged in ploughing the earth with a team of two oxen: the soil over which he is driving his furrows, was once a part of the stirring Agora of Athens.

Not a single book of any kind is now to be purchased at Athens. We have however been supplied with some assistance of this kind from the private libraries of the modern *μέτοικοι* of the place; and particularly one work ought to



be specified here; Colonel Leake's valuable volume on the Ancient Topography of Athens.<sup>1</sup>

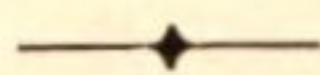
<sup>1</sup> Let me also notice the German translation of this work, published at Halle in 1829, which contains a valuable appendix from the pen of K.O. Müller, to whom Athenian topography is deeply indebted for his articles on Athens and Attica, in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia, t. vi. p. 228. sqq. and for his "Brief nach Athen." 1833.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### ATHENS.

#### *Mount Lycabettus.*



Jamque adscendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi  
Imminet, adversasque aspectat desuper arces.

VIRG. ÆN. 421.

*They climb the ample hill which looking down  
Upon the Citadel, o'erhangs the shaded town.*

WE ascend the peaked hill of St. George, which is about a thousand yards to the N.E. of the modern walls ; and is one of the most remarkable points in Athenian topography ; it is to Athens what Monte Mario is to Rome. From its summit the site and neighbourhood of Athens lie unrolled before the eye as in a map ; and the physical characteristics which distinguish Athens from all other places, are more strikingly exhibited here than in any other site.

This peculiar form might be supposed to have been produced by some such process as this. We may imagine the surface of the country to have once been in a fluid state, swelling in vast waves, and that some of these billows were suddenly fixed in their places into solid limestone rock, while the rest were permitted to subside away into a wide plain. We might fancy the objects before us to have been produced by some such agency as this. Hence, we might suppose, the insulated rocky peak on which we now are : hence the



tabular rock of the Acropolis rising from the plain, in the centre of the city, as the natural pedestal on which its future statues and temples were to be supported: and hence the lower and longer rocky ridge at the S.W. verge of Athens, which commences a little to the north of the Pnyx, and terminates in the eminence of the Museum.

The hill of St. George, on which we are, is not only a favourable position for considering the *forms* impressed upon the surface of the soil; it is also one of the best stations for tracing with the eye the natural limits by which the ancient city of Athens was bounded.

On the S.W. of the ancient city, the ridge of low hills, on one of which was the Pnyx, Mount Lycabettus on the opposite side, and the bed of Ilissus on the south, appeared to <sup>1</sup>Plato to be the legitimate boundaries of his own city. In his Utopian vision of its happier state, those limits are assigned to the citadel itself. The sites of these two cardinal points, the Pnyx, and the Ilissus, have been clearly ascertained. Lycabettus, we believe to be identical with the hill on which we now are; namely, the hill of St. George.

For first, it must be conceded, that such a remarkable hill as the present, and one immediately overhanging the city, could not long have remained *without a name*. It is also an isolated hill; therefore its name would have been limited to *itself*.

Now of all the *other* earlier names of Attic mountains, there is not one, that must not either be applied to some other hill, or that can be applied to this remarkable hill of St. George. The names Pentelicus, Brilessus, Hymettus, and others, have all been occupied by other mountains: that of LYCABETTUS alone remains to be disposed of. Hence we may infer that St. George and Lycabettus are the same.

<sup>1</sup> See note, next page.



The same inference must be derived from the passage of Plato<sup>1</sup> above noticed. In order to give an idea of the extent of a place, the limits by which it is bounded are specified, and those limits, to answer this purpose, must be at opposite extremes; they must be, as it were, the poles of the place in question. Plato assigns the Pnyx and Mount Lycabettus as the limits of Athens. Hence the Pnyx, being comprised within the walls at the S.W., Mount Lycabettus must be the limit at the N.E.; that is, Mount Lycabettus coincides with the hill of St. George.

One proof more may be added. The Clouds, in the extant comedy of Aristophanes bearing that name, are naturally represented as coming to the Theatre at Athens from the N.N.E., from the hazy ridges of Mount Parnes. In the earlier edition of that play (as we know from a surviving fragment of it), they were represented as irritated by the discourteous reception which they met with on the Athenian stage, and they resented this provocation by threatening to quit the theatre, and to fly off to the heights of Mount Parnes, from which they had come. We are informed of the route which they intend to take, in their way from Athens thither. They are sailing off, we are told,

Ἐς τὴν Πάρνηθ' ὀργισθεῖσαι, φροῦδαι κατὰ τὸν Λυκαβηττόν.

*To the summit of Parnes, swelling with rage, and have vanish'd along Lycabettus.*<sup>2</sup>

They are vanishing towards Mount Parnes, and they are

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Critia. 112. a. τὸ πρὶν (ἡ ἀκρόπολις) μέγεθος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Ἑριδανὸν καὶ τὸν Ἰλισσοῦν ἀποβεβηκυῖα, καὶ περιειληφυῖα ἐντὸς τὴν Πνύκα καὶ τὸν Λυκαβηττόν ὄρον ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ τῆς Πνυκὸς ἔχουσα. . . .

*Formerly the Acropolis stretched to the Eridanus and the Ilissus, comprising the Pnyx within its circuit, and reached to Mount Lycabettus, its limit on the opposite side to the Pnyx.*

<sup>2</sup> Hence the combination of the two mountains in Aristophanes (Ranæ 1057), would become much more appropriate, if instead of ἦν οὖν σὺ λέγῃς



taking *Lycabettus* in their way. *Lycabettus* is their first object in their way thither. The first, and indeed the only mountain that they would pass in their way from Athens to Mount Parnes, is that which is now called St. George. Therefore St. George is *Lycabettus*.<sup>1</sup>

But it is alleged that the hill of St. George is the *ANCHESMUS* of Pausanias; and Sig. Pittakys, a celebrated Athenian antiquary, informed me that he found, a few days ago, the words **ΔΙΟΣ ΟΡΟΣ**, *Mount of Jove*, inscribed on a rock here in very ancient characters; by which he proves that this mountain is *Anchesmus* which was consecrated to Jove;<sup>2</sup> and the identity of St. George with the *Anchesmus* of Pausanias, need not be disputed. But it does not therefore follow, that the same mountain is not the *Lycabettus* of earlier writers. These two names nowhere occur in the same author. The name of *Anchesmus* is found in no writer

Λυκαβηττοῦς καὶ ΠΑΡΝΗΘΩΝ ἡμῖν μεγέθη we were to read ΠΑΡΝΗΘΩΝ. This correction has been already proposed by Bentley. See also Porson, *Aristophanica*, p. 75. The *distant Parnassus* did not offer a fit illustration to an Athenian audience, who saw *the neighbouring Parnes* daily. The confusion of *Πάρνης* and *Παρνησός* occurs in the MSS. of nearly every ancient Lexicon. See Ruhnken. *Tim.* v. *Παρνησός* (i. e. *Πάρνης* :) ὅρος μεταξὺ Βοιωτίας καὶ Ἀττικῆς. The reason why *Parnassus* has thus so frequently intruded itself into the place of *Parnes*, is obvious. Mount *Parnes* has also met with ill treatment from the Latin copyists. In Seneca (*Hippol.* 4.) the editions had the strange words, “*Quæ saxa solo Carpentica*,” till Scaliger restored “*Quæ saxoso loca Parnetica*”—as I have been reminded in a letter from Mr. G. Burges.

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to Col. Leake for a subsequent confirmation of the above statement. “I have lately,” he says, “met with a passage in an author of the fifth century, which proves *Lycabettus* to have been on the *Eastern* side of Athens, adjacent to the town. It is in the life of Proclus by Marinus of Neapolis in Palestine, who says that Proclus was buried in a διπλῇ θήκῃ with his master Syrianus ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικωτέροις τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῷ Λυκαβηττῷ. Cp. *Anthol.* ii. p. 66. ed. Jacobs.” See *Athenæum*, No. cx. p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. i. 32, 2. Ἀγχεσμός ὅρος οὐ μέγα, καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου,



before Pausanias. The discovery therefore of the inscription above-mentioned can only prove, what would *à priori* be not unlikely, that Anchesmus was a more recent name for Lycabettus.

Socrates, in his conversation on domestic economy with Ischomachus, which was carried on in the portico of Zeus Eleutherius, in the Agora, at Athens,<sup>1</sup> selects Lycabettus as a specimen of thin and arid soil; and in another dialogue, conducted beneath the same portico,<sup>2</sup> he compares the possession of superfluous wealth with that of a freehold on the slopes of this mountain. We may imagine him pointing to its bare sides of thinly covered grey limestone, in confirmation of his argument, from the place in which he is represented as conversing, whence it was distinctly visible. This mountain was probably a sheep-walk. A rude inscription, graven on one of its rocks beneath a small cave in them, and immediately facing Athens, seems to indicate this. The word **OPOC** (or land-mark) written vertically, is there inscribed.<sup>3</sup> And the same word may still be engraved in the same direction and characters, on the face looking towards Lycabettus, of the small rock now called *σχιστή πέτρα* (cleft-rock) which lies between Lycabettus and Athens. A line drawn between these two inscriptions determined, perhaps, the range of pasture, or "bound of feed" (as Shakspeare calls it), allowed to the flocks of some Athenian proprietor, whose occupation of land on the barren slope of this mountain would have been little envied by the Athenian philosopher.

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. *Œcon.* xix. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Pseudo-Plat. *Eryx.* 24.

<sup>3</sup> On this custom of affixing *ὄποι* see Boeck. *Mus. Crit.* ii. 625.



## CHAPTER IX.

### ATHENS.

Tellus habet in se corpora prima.

LUCRET. ii. 590.

*Here Earth supplies the primal elements.*

THE simplicity of the earliest public buildings at Athens is very remarkable. Whatever their object, religious, political, judicial or social, their character in this respect was the same, and it expressed itself by two properties, the one resulting from the nature of the Athenian climate, the other from that of the soil. The beauty and softness of the climate, brightened by the colour of the atmosphere, and refreshed by the breezes of the neighbouring sea, naturally allured the inhabitants of Athens to pass much of their time in the open air. Not only poetically, but literally, might the Athenians be described as

<sup>1</sup> ἀεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου  
βαίνοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος

*For ever delicately treading  
Through pellucid air.*

To cover the head, even in the open air, was left to invalids

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. Med. 829.



and travellers.<sup>1</sup> Hence also we may in part account for the defects of their domestic architecture, the badness of their streets, and the proverbial meanness of the houses of the noblest men among them. Hence, in the best days of Athens, the Athenians worshipped, legislated, and viewed dramatic representations, under the open sky.

These buildings, also, if buildings they can be called, possessed a property produced by the Athenian soil. Athens stands on a bed of hard limestone rock, in most places thinly covered by a meagre surface of soil, from which the rock frequently projects, and is almost always visible, protruded like bones under the integuments of an emaciated body, to which Plato compares it.<sup>2</sup> Athenian ingenuity suggested, and Athenian dexterity has realised, the adaptation of such a soil to architectural purposes. Walls were hewn in the rocky soil itself, pavements were levelled, tombs excavated, steps and seats chiselled, <sup>3</sup> cisterns dug, and niches scooped; almost every object that in a simpler state of society would

<sup>1</sup> Lucian de Gymnas. p. 895. τὸν πῖλον ἀφελεῖν ἔδοξεν, ὥς μὴ μόνος ἐν ὑμῖν ξενίζοιμι τῷ σχήματι. *I thought right to put off my cap, that I might not be the only foreigner in my garb among you.* Cp. Valck. Theocr. Adonias. p. 344=181. ed. Heindorf, and Soph. Ajax, 240, ὥρα τιν ἤδη Κράτα καλύμμασι κρυψάμενον with Wunder's note.

<sup>2</sup> Critia. iii. Β. οἶον νοσήσαντος σώματος ὅστ᾽ αὖ, περιερρηκυίας τῆς γῆς. . . *like the bones of an emaciated body, the soil having collapsed about it.*

<sup>3</sup> These cisterns are the λάκκοι, of which frequent mention is made in Athenian writers (ὑδωρ λακκαῖον, Theoph. Charact. xx. 3.) They are well described in Photius, Lex. p. 203. Ed. Cant. . . . and are seen in great numbers on the western rocky range on which the Pnyx is. In the narrow valley between the hill of the Pnyx and the Museum there remain two ὑδροπόροι or water-courses, channelled in the rock, one on each side of the road. Leading, as they do, toward the Peiræus, they call to mind the treasonable device for setting fire to the arsenal there, which was denounced by the informer in Arist. Acharn. 884.

. . . . θρυαλλίδα  
ἐνθελς ἀν ἐς τίφην ἀνὴρ Βοιώτιος



be necessary for public or private fabrics, was thus quarried in the soil. Thus the City itself was *αὐτόχθων*, indigenous, as its earliest inhabitants were supposed to be.

These assertions may be illustrated by reference to some of the public buildings most venerable for their antiquity, and for the important purposes to which they were applied.

The most remarkable of these is the ΠΝΥΧ.

ἄψας ἂν ἐσπέμψειεν ἐς τὸ νεώριον  
δι' ὑδρορροῶας. . . .

. . . a Bæotian

*Might ram into the funnel of a reed*

*A lighted wick, and shoot it to the docks*

*Along a water-course.*

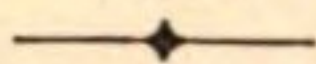
These water-courses have been in some places lined with cement (*κοιναταί*. Demosth. 175. 5) . . . The road itself is like a channel cut in a rock : the interval between the wheel-tracks in it is 3 feet 11 inches.



## CHAPTER X.

### ATHENS.

#### *The Pnyx or Parliament of Athens.*

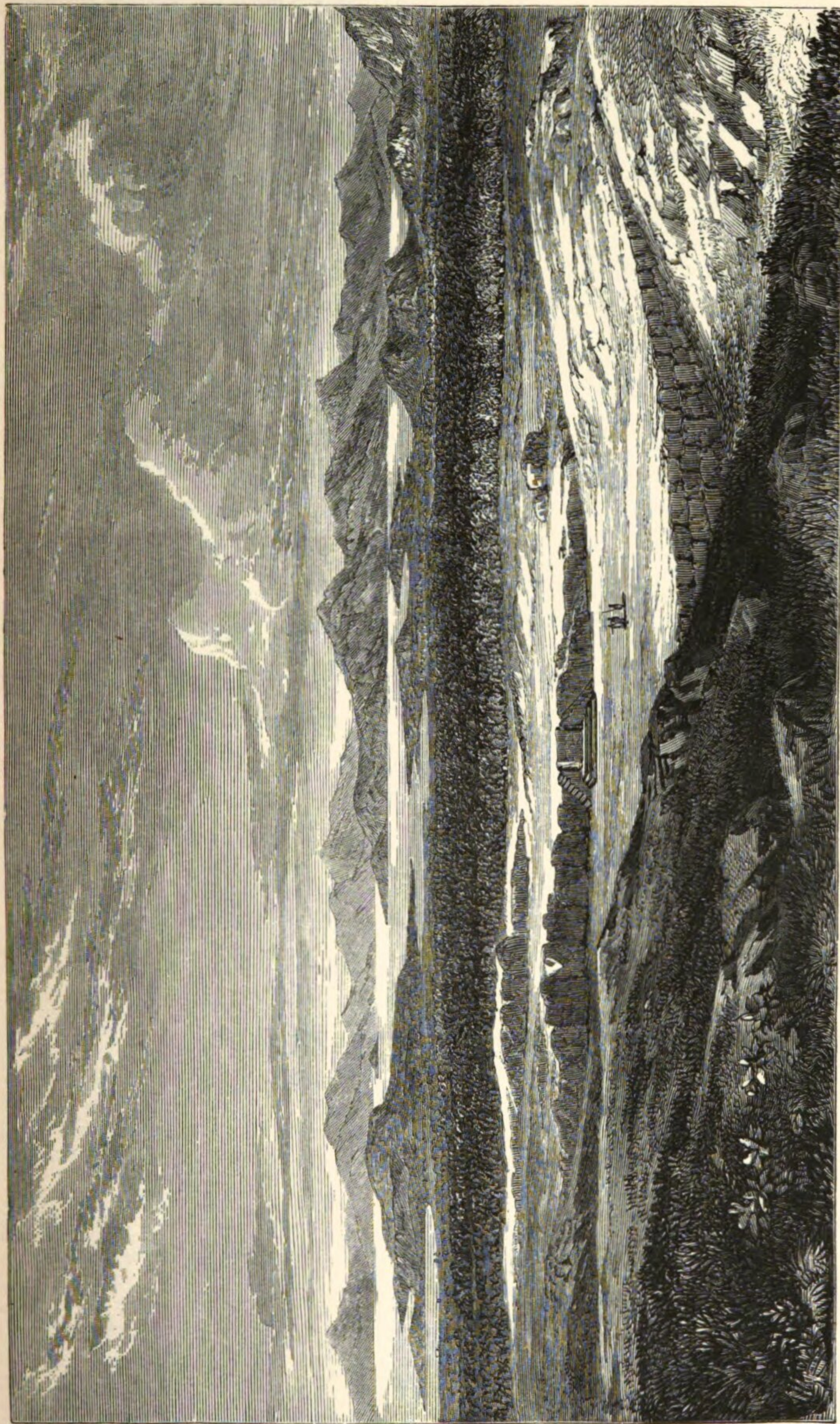


Eum locum libenter invisit, ubi Demosthenes et Æschines inter se decertare soliti sunt.—Cic. de Fin. v. 2.

*He gladly visits that spot where Demosthenes and Æschines were wont to contend.*

THE PNYX is part of the surface of a low rocky hill, at the distance of a quarter of a mile to the west of the central rock of the Acropolis: and at about half that distance to S.W. of the centre of the Areopagus. It may be described as an area formed by the almost semicircular segment of a circle. The radius of this semicircular segment varies from about sixty to eighty yards. It is on a sloping ground, shelving down gently toward the hollow of the ancient Agora, which was at its foot on the N.E. The chord of the semicircle is the highest part of the slope: the middle of its arc is the lowest: and this central point of the curve is cased and buttressed up by a terrace wall of huge polygonal blocks, about fifteen feet in depth at the centre, which prevented the soil of the slope from lapsing down into the valley of the Agora. From its being thus consolidated, and, as it were, *condensed* (πυκνουμένη) by the upward pressure of these massive stones, the Pnyx (it is said) derived its name. This wall is probably coeval with the birth of oratory at





THE PNYX FROM THE AREOPAGUS.

[To face page 54.]







Athens. The chord of the semicircle is formed by a line of rock hewn vertically, so as to present to the spectator, standing in the area, the face of a flat wall. In the middle point of this wall of rock, and projecting from it, and applied to it, is a solid rectangular block hewn from the same rock. This was the BEMA, or Rostra, from which the speakers in the Assembly of the Pnyx addressed the audience who occupied the semicircle area before them. The Bema looks towards the N.E.; that is, toward the Ancient Agora.

Steps are hewn on each side of the Bema, by which the speaker mounted it: and at its base, on the three sides of it, is a tier of three seats cut from the same rock.

This was the place provided for the Public Assemblies at Athens in its most glorious times;<sup>1</sup> and nearly such as it was then, is it seen now. This Bema was the oratorical Throne from which Pericles, the "Olympian" Sovereign of Greek eloquence "fulminated over Greece." The Athenian orators spoke from a block of bare stone: their audience sat before them on an open field; and a prelude and a symptom of national degeneracy was observable, when the public assemblies of Athens were transferred to the Theatre<sup>2</sup> from the Pnyx.

This spot is suggestive of reflections on the distinguishing characteristics of Athenian oratory.

The Pnyx from its position, and its openness, supplied the Athenian Orator with sources of eloquence influencing himself, and with objects of appeal acting on his audience, which no other place of a similar import, not even the Roman Forum, has ever paralleled in number or interest.

First, the Athenian Orator standing on the Bema of the

<sup>1</sup> J. Pollux. viii. 132, well describes the Pnyx as χωρίον κατέσκευασμένον κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀπλότητα.

<sup>2</sup> Pollux viii. 132, ἐκκλησίαν παλαιὰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Πνυκί, αὖθις δὲ ἐν τῷ Διονυσιακῷ Θεάτρῳ.



Pnyx had the Natural Elements at his service. The Sky of Attica was over his head, the Soil of Attica beneath his feet, and the Sea of Attica behind him. Appeals to the Ruling Powers of these elements in other places might be vague and unmeaning, but here they were almost endued with life. Here, without any unnatural constraint, he could fetch the Deities from those elements, and place them on the platform before him. They would appear to answer his call, not like stage-deities, let down *ex machinâ*, but as stepping spontaneously from the place in which they were believed to dwell. There must have been something inexpressibly solemn in the ejaculation  $\Omega \Gamma \eta \kappa \alpha \iota \Theta \epsilon \omicron \iota !$  *O Earth and Gods!* uttered in his most sublime periods by Demosthenes in this place.

The Sea and Sky, the Vales and Mountains of his native land, by which he was surrounded, gave nerve and energy and life to the eloquence of the speaker, so that we seem, as it were, still to breathe the air of Attica in the pages of Demosthenes. And not only had the Orator the Elements in his favour, but he had also those historical objects, both of nature and art, immediately around him, by which the imagination of his audience was most forcibly excited, and by which their affections were stirred most deeply.

Visible behind him at no great distance was the scene of Athenian glory, the island of Salamis. Nearer was the Peiræus, with its arsenals lining the shore, and its fleets floating upon its bosom. Before him was the crowded City itself, the *περιμάχητον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπὸ πάντων ἄστυ*, *That City which was the envy and the wonder of the World*, as one of these Orators, Demades, calls it. In the city, immediately below him was the circle<sup>1</sup> of the Agora, planted with

<sup>1</sup> ἀγορᾶς κύκλος. Eur. Or. 917. Casaubon. Theoph. Char. ii. "Quod ait a formâ hoc forum *circuli* nomen nactum esse, verum est."



shady plane trees,<sup>1</sup> and adorned with beautiful statues of marble, bronze and gilded, decorated with painted porticoes, and stately edifices, monuments of Athenian gratitude and glory: a little beyond the Agora was the Areopagus; above all, towering to his right, rose the stately Acropolis, faced with the Propylæa as a frontlet,<sup>2</sup> and crested with the Parthenon as a crown. Therefore, the Athenian Orator was enabled to speak with a power and exultation which the presence of such objects imparted to him and his hearers. Thence he could extol the generous public sacrifices made by the country, his and theirs, as the sources of national glory; the causes ἀφ' ὧν κτήματα ἀθάνατα αὐτῷ περίεστιν, τὰ μὲν τῶν ἔργων ἢ μνήμη, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἀνατεθέντων τὸ κάλλος, Προπύλαια ταῦτα, ὁ Παρθενὼν, Στοαὶ, Νεώσοικοι . . . whence there still survive to her, everlasting possessions; on the one hand, the memory of her exploits; on the other, the splendour of the monuments consecrated in former days; you PROPYLÆA, that PARTHENON, those PORTICOS and DOCKS.<sup>3</sup> These objects were all present before their eyes to witness the truth of this appeal.

The sight of them moved the soul of every Athenian<sup>4</sup>: and it is evident from the productions of eloquence of which this passage is a specimen, and from the considerations above suggested, that much of the peculiar spirit which distinguishes Athenian oratory is to be ascribed not merely to the

<sup>1</sup> By Cimon. Plut. Vit. p. 202, whence perhaps the allusion is to this act of *Cimon* in Aristoph. frag. Γεωργοί n. 162. Dindorf.

ἐν ἀγορᾷ δ' αὖ πλάτανον εὖ διαφυτεύσομεν.

*We'll plant the Agora with rows of Plane-trees.*

<sup>2</sup> Demosthen. Androt. 618. See Harpocrat. in. προπυλαῖα ταῦτα.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth. p. 617. Comp. 174. p. 597.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Æschines de f. 1. (c. 21. Bremi.) ἀνιστάμενοι οἱ ῥήτορες ἀποβλέπειν εἰς τὰ Προπυλαῖα ἐκέλευον ἡμᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην ναυμαχίας μεμνήσθαι. . .



character of the speaker, and to the physical quickness of his audience, but also, if we may so say, to the natural scenery of the theatre on which that Eloquence played its part. What was said of their Warriors in the field, might be said of their Statesmen in the Pnyx; they were supplied by a local power with resources which rendered them matchless,

αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ γῆ ξύμμαχος κείνοισ πέλει.<sup>1</sup>

*For Earth herself upon their side did fight.*

We may not omit to notice the vast *size* of the place provided for the meetings of the Athenian Assembly. The area of the Pnyx covers more than twelve thousand square yards, and could accommodate the whole free population of Athens. The orator from this Bema often addressed an audience of <sup>2</sup>six thousand Athenians. The peculiar character also of an assembly is not to be neglected by one who would consider what part that man had to play who *held the reins of the Pnyx*.<sup>3</sup> Before Demosthenes ventured to encounter such an audience, remarkable for the enormity of its numbers and the impetuosity of its passions, well might he go day by day down to the shore of Phalerum, and pace along the beach, in order to prepare himself, by practising upon the Ægæan Sea, to face the winds and waves of the Athenian Assembly.<sup>4</sup>

Let us pass to another point connected with the Pnyx.

<sup>1</sup> Æschyl. Pers. 778. A curious specimen of the *religious* feeling attached to this spot is preserved in an inscription engraved in the rock a little to the N.W. of the Pnyx.

ΗΙΕΡΟΝ

ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ

ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΙΣ

SACRED TO THE POPULAR NYMPHS.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. c. Neær. 1375. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Arist. Eq. 1105.

<sup>4</sup> See the comparison feelingly expressed by Demosthen. π.π. 383. 7.



The scenes which are described in the Athenian Comic Drama as taking place on this spot, gain much in distinctness from local illustration. Placed where we are now, we may imagine Dicæopolis in the Aristophanic play of the Acharnians arriving early in the morning, taking his seat on one of these <sup>1</sup>limestone steps, and speculating on the Agora beneath him, where the logistæ are chasing the stragglers with their vermilion-coloured rope. The Prytanes appear from the Agora; they ascend the slope of the Pnyx; a contest takes place for the first seats, covered with planks and perhaps with cushions at the base of the stone bema, around which are ranged the bowmen of the Scythian police. The citizens, equipped with staff and cloak, are seated on this <sup>2</sup>elevated area of the Pnyx. The lustrations are performed. The herald comes forward to invite the orators to speak; and questions circulate among the audience, what orator will put on the crown, and who now enjoys the sway of the <sup>3</sup>bema, of that simple block of stone, the political ὀμφαλὸς of Greece? what will be the object of his harangue, to recommend a war, or a new tribute, and like a vigilant Chancellor of the Exchequer,

Quintil. x. 3. 30. Demosthenes in litore, in quod se maximo cum sono fluctus illideret, meditans (μελετῶν) consuescebat *concionum fremitus non expavescere*. Cic. Fin. v. 2. *in Phalerico declamare solitum Demosthenem*.

<sup>1</sup> Which suggested the offer of the *cushion* to the Demus in the Equites. 783.—

ἐπὶ ταῖσι πετραῖς οὐ φροντίζει σκληρῶς σε καθήμενον οὕτως  
οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ραψαμενός σοι τουτὶ φέρω· ἀλλ' ἐπαναίρου,  
κᾶτα καθίζου μαλακῶς. . .

<sup>2</sup> Hence the use of the word ἄνω for, "*in the Pnyx*." Demosth. 285. 2. πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆστο. cf. Plutarch. Nic. 7. Euripides, in describing an *Argive* assembly, draws his picture of it from the Athenian Pnyx. Orest. 871.—ὁρῶ δ' ὄχλον στείχοντα, καὶ θάσσοντ' ἄκραν. Hence too the Pnyx was subsequently dedicated to Ζεὺς ὑψιστός. Corp. Inscript. p. 475.

<sup>3</sup> Pac. 673. ὅστις κρατεῖ νῦν τοῦ λίθου,



<sup>1</sup> καὶ πρὸ τῶν πετρῶν ἄνωθεν τοὺς πόρους θυννόσκοπεῖν.

*From the rocks to watch the taxes swimming in like tunny-shoals.*

All which important speculations, being made under the open sky, may be terminated by a few drops of rain producing the announcement

<sup>2</sup> διοσημία 'στιν, καὶ ῥαγὶς βέβληκέ με·

*A portent! for I felt a drop of rain:*

and thus—with a sudden change of scene characteristic of Athenian genius and polity—the assembly is dissolved more rapidly than it met.

A question may be asked here. Should we be justified in assigning the bema, the principal object in the Pnyx, as now seen, to so early a period as the time of the Peloponnesian war? As far as the present bema is concerned, it would seem not.

It is asserted, on the supposed authority of Plutarch, that the bema of that age looked towards the *sea*; and that it was afterwards turned toward the *land* by the Thirty Tyrants, who are thought to have thus intimated their antipathy to a popular government; a maritime and a democratic power being in their opinion identical.

Now the *present* bema looks in an *inland* direction: it is not *therefore*, it is said, the bema from which Pericles spoke. It has been attempted to obviate this conclusion by different expedients. The veracity of Plutarch has been questioned—his assertion has been rejected as false. It is impossible, as is alleged, that the aspect of the bema should ever have been such, that an orator standing upon it should have turned his back on the Agora and city of Athens. This seems to be a cogent argument, but is it a pertinent one? The

<sup>1</sup> Equites, 313.

<sup>2</sup> Acharn. 171.



words of Plutarch<sup>1</sup> require, I conceive, not so much to be refuted as explained. Their meaning seems to be this. The sea *was visible* from the bema *in the Pnyx*, according to its original structure; the Thirty Tyrants altered it in such a manner that it should not command a view of the sea, but of the *land only*. Now this might be done in two ways; either the position of the bema might be altered, or its height reduced: its *aspect* in either case might, and probably did, remain the same as before. From the existing indications on the spot, the former of these two alternatives seems to have been adopted.

There are very distinct remains of another solid rectangular rock, in short, of another bema, which has evidently been mutilated by design, at a distance of about twenty-five yards immediately *behind* the existing one. From the former the sea is distinctly visible; from the latter it is not. The former, therefore, may have been the spot from which Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles, the latter that from which Demosthenes addressed the Athenian assembly.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. v. Themist. (i. p. 476. Reiske.) τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πνυκί πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν (i. e. so that a person might look off from it to the sea) ὕστερον οἱ Τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέτρεψαν. On this sense of ἀποβλέπειν, see Buttmann. Excurs. Platon. Alcib. i.



## CHAPTER XI.

### ATHENS.

#### *The Areopagus.*

Curia Martis Athenis.

JUVENAL.

SIXTEEN stone steps cut in the rock, at its south-east angle, lead up to the hill of the AREOPAGUS from the valley of the Agora, which lies between it and the Pnyx. This angle seems to be the point of the hill on which the Council of the Areopagus sat. Immediately above the steps, on the level of the hill, is a bench of stone excavated in the limestone rock, forming three sides of a quadrangle, like a triclinium: it faces the south: on its east and west side is a raised block; the former may perhaps have been the tribunal, the two latter the rude stones which Pausanias saw here, and which are described by Euripides<sup>1</sup> as assigned, the one to the accuser, the other to the criminal, in the causes tried

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 28. 5. Eurip. Iph. T. 962. Orestes says

ὥς εἰς Ἄρειον ὄχθον ἦκον, ἐς δίκην δ'  
ἔστην, ἐγὼ μὲν θάτερον λαβὼν βάθρον,  
τὸ δ' ἄλλο πρέσβειρ' ἤπερ ἦν Ἐρινύων.

*When we had mounted to the hill of Ares,  
We scaled two adverse Steps; I took the one,  
The eldest of the Furies trod the other.*



in this court. There the Areopagites, distinguished by their character, rank, and official dignity, sat as judges, on a rocky hill in the open air.<sup>1</sup>

On the Areopagus are ruins of a small church dedicated to S. Dionysius the Areopagite, and commemorating his conversion here by S. Paul<sup>2</sup> who once stood in the centre of this platform. The Apostle was brought, perhaps up these steps of rock which are the natural access to the summit, from the Agora below, in which he had been conversing, to give an account of the doctrines which he preached, on the Areopagus, probably so chosen as an open space where many might listen at their ease, and also as being the tribunal for trying capital offences, especially in matters of religion.<sup>3</sup> Here, placed as he was, he might well describe the city of Athens as he did. With its buildings at his feet, and its statues and temples around him, he might well say from ocular demonstration, that the city was crowded with idols.<sup>4</sup>

The temple of the Eumenides was immediately below him: the Parthenon of Minerva faced him from above. Their presence seemed to challenge the assertion *ὅτι οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ ὁ Θεός*, *that in TEMPLES made by hands the Deity does not dwell*. In front of him, towering

<sup>1</sup> J. Pollux. viii. 10. ὑπαίθριοι ἐδίκασον. <sup>2</sup> Act. Apost. xvii. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Διὰ τί εἰς Ἀρειον πάγον αὐτὸν εἶλκον; ὥς καταπλήξοντες, ἔνθα τὰς φονικὰς δίκας ἐδίκασον. S. Chrysostom ad Act. Apostol. l. c.

<sup>4</sup> Athens was emphatically *a city of Gods*, πόλις θεῶν. In the animated description of Hegesias quoted by Strabo (396. b.) ἐκεῖνο Λεωκόριον, τοῦτο Θεσεῖον, . . . οὐ δύναμαι δηλῶσαι καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ΘΕΩΝ ἐστὶ κτίσμα καὶ προγόνων ἡρώων. A passage, it may be observed, which throws light upon the very similar expressions of Strabo which follow it (p. 396. d.): ἐπ' ἄλλων πλειόνων ἐστὶν ἱστορεῖν πολλὰ, καὶ εἰς τὸ Λεωκόριον καὶ τὸ Θεσεῖον· ΟΥΣ ἔχει καὶ τὸ Λύκειον καὶ τὸ Ολυμπιεῖον,—where instead of ΟΥΣ, the word ΘΥΣ (i. e. θεοὺς) seems to be required in the text. Concerning this *confusion*, see Bentley on Free-thinking, p. 118. and Bast. Palæog. p. 812.



over the city from its pedestal on the rock of the Acropolis,—as the Borromean Colossus, which at this day with outstretched hand gives its benediction to the low village of Arona, or as the brazen statue of the armed Angel, which, from the summit of the Castel S. Angelo, spreads its wings over the city of Rome,—was the bronze Colossus of Minerva, armed with spear, shield and helmet, the Champion of Athens. Standing almost beneath its shade, the courageous Apostle pronounced, that the Deity is not to be likened to that, the work of Phidias, or to other forms in “gold, silver, or stone, graven by art and man’s device,” which peopled the scene before him.

The remark therefore which has been made<sup>1</sup> on the skilful adaptation of S. Paul’s oration to the *audience* which he was addressing, is equally applicable to its congruity with the *place* in which he was addressing them. Nothing could present a grander, and, if we may so speak, a more *picturesque* illustration of his subject than the temples, statues, altars, and other objects by which he was surrounded. The scenery of Raffaele’s cartoon<sup>2</sup> of S. Paul’s preaching at Athens, noble in some respects as it is, is very unworthy of the original.

On the eastern extremity of the Areopagus the<sup>3</sup> Persians encamped under the command of Xerxes before the Acropolis, which was most accessible from this quarter. It is probable, that this fact induced the Athenian poet and warrior Æschylus to place the besieging Amazons in the same spot. The History of Athens appears to have thrown its shadow backward on Athenian Mythology, as its Mythology has projected its own shadow over Athenian History. The conflicts of Amazons with Athenians described

<sup>1</sup> By Bentley, Sermon ii., and Hemsterhus. Orat. de Paulo Apostolo, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Which is unhappily filled with buildings in *Roman* style—showing how little was then known in Italy of *Greek* architecture. <sup>3</sup> Herod. viii. 52.



on the stage, and <sup>1</sup> painted by Micon and others in frescoes, and sculptured with such profusion on the friezes of temples at Athens, were not thus treated merely on account of their interest or beauty, but were intended to allude, with the indirect delicacy characteristic of Athenian art, to Athenian <sup>2</sup> struggles with the Persians, to whom in costume, habit and extraction, as well as in their object and its result, the Amazons were conceived to bear a near resemblance. And if so, the reason is evident, why, above all persons, <sup>3</sup> Æschylus, to whom his share in the battle of Marathon <sup>4</sup> against the Persians appeared more glorious than his dramatic triumphs, has preferred the particular etymology by which he has explained the name of the Areopagus.

The decrees of the Roman Senate derived some of their authority from being passed in a consecrated building. And at Athens it was an ingenious device of policy to connect the Council and Court of the Areopagus with the religious worship of the EUMENIDES. The devotional awe with

<sup>1</sup> See Arrian, Exped. Alex. vii. p. 470. Blancard. γέγραπται ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων μάχη πρὸς Κίμωνος (read, by transposition of two letters, Μίκωνος, Aristoph. Lys. 678. τὰς Ἀμάζοντας σκόπει, ἄς Μίκων ἔγραψ' ἐφ' Ἰππων.)

<sup>2</sup> Thus the figure of Paris in the Æginetan pediment was a copy of a Persian archer. See Müller, Phid. Vit. p. 58. and a further analogy in a monument illustrated by Millingen (Uned. Mon. ii. p. 15.)

<sup>3</sup> Eumenid. 655.

πάγον δ' Ἀρειον τόνδ' Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν,

when they besieged the Acropolis,

Ἀρει δ' ἔθυσεν ἔνθεν ἔστ' ἐπώνυμος

πέτρα, πάγος τ' Ἀρειος . . . .

Putting this passage of Æschylus together with that of Cleidemus in Plutarch, Vit. Thes. cxxvii. we may be led to think that the Amazoneum of which the latter speaks was on the Areopagus. Here stood the left wing of the Amazons : their right was on the Pnyx : the Athenians opposed them from the Museum : the dead fell near the Peiraic Gate : this therefore was between the Museum and Pnyx, and there I have placed it in the Map.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. i. 14. 5.



which the latter were regarded, was thus extended to the former. It was consecrated by this union. The design of blending the interests and safety of the Tribunal, with the awfulness of the temple, is seen in the position of both. Some wise well-wisher to the Areopagus placed the shrine of the Eumenides immediately at the foot of this hill.<sup>1</sup>

The exact position of this temple, if temple it may be called, is at the N.E. angle of the Areopagus, at its base. There is a wide long chasm there formed by split rocks, through which we enter a gloomy recess. Here is a fountain of very dark water. A female peasant, whom we find here with her pitcher, in the very adytum of the Eumenides, says that the source flows during the summer (τρέχει το καλοκαίρι), and that it is esteemed for its medicinal virtues: it is known by the name Karasou, which signifies, we are informed, black water.

It is unnecessary to repeat the proofs<sup>2</sup> that have been given by others that this is the *site* of the Temple of the Semnai or Eumenides. That this dark recess and fountain formed, with a few artificial additions, the very temple itself seems to be equally certain. The character of the temple is described by ancient authors with the same clearness as its position, and the spot in which we are corresponds with these descriptions. Here is the chasm of the earth; here the subterranean chamber; here the source of water,<sup>3</sup>—which were its characteristics.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It has been attributed to Epimenides: but a temple of the Furies stood here before his visit to Athens. Compare Thuc. i. 126. Plut. Sol. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See Dobree Adversar. i. p. 47. Müller Eumenid. p. 179, and in his Appendix to Leake, p. 454.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps alluded to, Soph. Œd. Col. 157.

<sup>4</sup> Eur. Elect. 1272. πάγον παρ' αὐτὸν χάσμα δύσονται χθονός. Æsch. Eumen. 908. θάλαμοι . . . κατὰ γῆς.



This perhaps is the scene of that solemn and affecting narrative in the *Œdipus Colonæus* of Sophocles which describes the last moments, the death and burial, of *Œdipus*.<sup>1</sup>

The place was well adapted to the solemn character of the deities to whom it was consecrated: the torches with which the <sup>2</sup>*Eumenides* were afterwards furnished as a poetic attribute, perhaps owed their origin to the darkness of this Athenian temple in which those goddesses were enshrined. <sup>3</sup>*Æschylus* imagined the procession which escorted the *Eumenides* to this Temple, as descending the rocky steps above described from the platform of the *Areopagus*, then winding round the eastern angle of that hill, and conducting them with the sound of music and the glare of torches along this rocky ravine to this dark enclosure. In his time the contrast of the silence and gloom of this sacred place with the noise and splendour of the City, in the heart of which it was, must have been inexpressibly solemn. Now, the temple and its neighbourhood are both alike desolate and still.

<sup>1</sup> The tomb of *Œdipus* was between the *Acropolis* and *Areopagus*. *Val. Max.* 3. *Sophocles* appears to have blended the scenery of the Temple of *Eumenides* at *Colonus* with that of their Temple at *Athens*.

<sup>2</sup> *Aristoph.* *Plut.* 424. *Cicero de Leg.* i. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Eum.* 908.

*πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν  
κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι.*





Coin showing the Cave of Pan, the Parthenon, and Statue of Minerva,  
From a specimen in the British Museum.

## CHAPTER XII.

### ATHENS.

#### *Sacred Grottoes.*

..... πέτραι  
κοῖλαι, φιλόρνεις, δαιμόνων ἀναστροφαί.

ÆSCH. *Eumen.* 22.

..... Caves

*O'er vaulted, lov'd by birds, the haunt of Gods.*

THE consecrated GROTTOS, which have been excavated whether by nature or art in the rocky sides of the Acropolis, deserve attention as affording instances of the simplicity by which the earlier monuments of Athens were distinguished. The nearest of these to the Areopagus is the CAVE dedicated to APOLLO and PAN, and is hollowed in the base of the Acropolis at its N.W. angle.

When and how the former of these two deities was established here, there is no record. His occupation of the grotto was probably of great antiquity. But Pan we know to have been placed in this distinguished part of Athens, in



a residence adapted to his character and former life spent in the sylvan grottoes of Arcadia, in consequence of the services which he rendered to the Athenian army at Marathon. Here, probably, was an imitative grove. Here his statue was then enshrined. It was perhaps that which was dedicated by Miltiades, and for which Simonides<sup>1</sup> wrote the inscription, and that now stands in the vestibule of the Public Library at Cambridge. What an unexpected migration! How many thoughts does it suggest! This cave measures about six yards in length, ten in height, and five in depth. Niches are cut in its rocky interior, for the reception of statues and votive tablets, which have now disappeared, but have left their hollow sockets in the rock.

This cave is generally associated in ancient descriptions of Athens with another natural object near it; the fountain called Clepsydra,<sup>2</sup> so termed from its being supposed to *secrete* some of its waters in the summer months of the year, to be conveyed by a subterranean vein into the Athenian harbour, Phalerum.<sup>3</sup>

The only access to this fountain is from the enclosed platform of the Acropolis above it, and the approach to it is at the north of the northern wing of the Propylæa. Here we begin to descend a flight of forty-seven steps<sup>4</sup> cut in the rock, but partially cased with slabs of marble. The descent is

<sup>1</sup> Simonid. Poet. Min. i. p. 367. Gaisford. Herod. vi. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Ar. Lysist. 910. πλησίον τοῦ Πανείου ἢ Κλεψύδρα.

<sup>3</sup> Ister ap. Schol. Ar. Av. 1702. ἀρχομένων τῶν ἐτησίων . . . and ὀφθῆναι ἐν τῷ Φαληρικῷ. In the conclusion of the Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 913. Κλεψύδρα ἔχει τὰς ῥεύσεις ὑπὸ γῆν φέρουσα εἰς τὸν ΦΛΕΓΡΕΩΔΗ ΛΕΙΜΩΝΑ should be corrected to τῶν ΦΑΛΗΡΕΩΝ ΛΙΜΕΝΑ. A remarkable diminution of the water was observed by the Greeks in the siege of 1826, during the months of July and August, and during those only.

<sup>4</sup> These are represented in an ancient Athenian Coin (in the British Museum), showing the cave of Pan at the foot of the steps, and the statue of Athena Promachus above them.



arched over with brick, and opens out into a small subterranean chapel, dedicated to the Holy Apostles, with niches cut in its sides: here is a well, surmounted with a peristomium of marble: below which is the water now at the distance of about thirty feet.

The CLEPSYDRA in ancient times was, as now, accessible from the citadel. This will explain why in the <sup>1</sup> *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, the particular mode of defence is selected, which is there adopted by the besieged women in the Acropolis. The local objects suggested it. It was this fountain which supplied the women with its water to extinguish the fire, and drench the persons of their veteran besiegers beneath the wall. The same fountain has since served to supply a Greek water-clock, and a Turkish mosque.

In modern times, the Clepsydra has verified its name. The access to it from the Acropolis was lost for some time till recently. It was discovered <sup>2</sup> in 1828, and in the succeeding year the steps and the fountain were enclosed in the fortified circuit of the Acropolis, by the erection of a new bastion projecting from the north wing of the Propylæa, and returning to abut upon the rock which adjoins the Propylæa to the east. This out-work was executed in the month of September of that year, by the Greek Chief Odysseus, when he was in possession of the fortress, and he commemorated it by the following inscription on a marble slab in the external face of the bastion:—

<sup>1</sup> *Lysist.* 377.

<sup>2</sup> M. Pittakys, the Athenian Topographer of Athens, claims the honour of this discovery. *Athènes*, p. 155.



ΠΡΟΜΑΧΕΩΝΑ ΤΟΝΔΕ ΠΗΓΑΙΟΥ ΥΔΑ  
 ΤΟΣ ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ ΟΔΥ  
 ΣΣΕΥΣ ΑΝΔΡΙΤΖΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ  
 ΕΤΕΙ ΑΩΚΒ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΗΝΑ  
 ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΝ

ODYSSEUS, SON OF ANDRITZES, GENERAL OF THE GREEKS, RAISED FROM ITS FOUNDATIONS THIS  
 BASTION OVER A SOURCE OF SPRING WATER, IN THE YEAR M.DCCC.XXII. AND MONTH OF  
 SEPTEMBER.

When as "General of the Greeks" he erected this bastion, and thus recorded its erection, little did he foresee the melancholy end, which he was to meet in a few months, in the tower immediately behind it. There on the 17th of June, 1824, his body was seen suspended from a window :



after he had been confined there as a prisoner for several months.

The precise position of another grotto in the northern face of the Acropolis, the GROTTA of AGRAULUS or AGLAURUS, one of the three daughters of Cecrops, it is not so easy to ascertain. At the distance of sixty yards to the east of the Cave of Pan, is an excavation at the base of the rock of the Acropolis, which is here very abrupt: and forty yards further to the east is another grotto near the summit of the rock, and immediately under the wall of the citadel. One of these two is the cave of Agraulus: in the latter are thirteen niches in the interior, which prove it to have been a consecrated spot. On ascending the rock of the Acropolis to reach it, which is not very steep, I should estimate its height above the base of that rock at about sixty yards.

I am not able to give any description of the former cave, as it is now blocked up by a wall. Its entrance is nine feet in breadth. This wall, which is of recent construction, though it obstructs our curiosity, is of some use as proving the existence of a subterraneous communication, which it is built to intercept, between this cave and the interior of the Acropolis. The obstructing wall itself is pierced with loopholes for the muskets of those who may have fenced themselves within this subterraneous communication; and here is an argument in favour of those who believe this cave to be that of Agraulus.

The expression *μυχώδεις μακραί*<sup>1</sup> (*hollowed steep*) applied by

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. Ion. 492.

ὦ Πανὸς θακήματα καὶ  
 παραλίζουσα πέτρα  
 μυχώδεσι μακραῖς,  
 ἵνα χοροὺς στείβουσι ποδοῖν



Euripides to the cave of Agraulus, denoting both a secret cavity and a steep ascent, together with his indication of its proximity to the cave of Pan, correspond to this cave better than to any other.

The same conclusion arises from a consideration of a stratagem of Peisistratus,<sup>1</sup> who convened the Athenians in the ANACEIUM (the Temple of the Anakes or Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux)<sup>2</sup> below the Agrauleium, to the north of it, for the purpose of disarming them. While he was addressing them there, they laid down their arms, and we are informed that the partisans of Peisistratus seized the arms thus laid down, and conveyed them to the Agrauleium; probably that place was chosen on account of the communication between it and the Acropolis, by means of which they might be readily taken to the armoury of Peisistratus in the citadel.

Let me here venture to suggest a question, whether it was not by this same secret communication that the Persian besiegers, who mounted, as we know,<sup>3</sup> by the sanctuary of Agraulus, first gained entrance to the Athenian Acropolis. Their attempt on the citadel in that particular spot, seems to imply the existence there of such a secret communication: for the rock of the citadel itself being most precipitous at the cave of Agraulus, would have discouraged instead of suggesting such an attempt in that place.

Αγραύλου κόραι τρίγονοι  
στάδια χλοερά πρὸ Παλλάδος  
ναῶν.

The ναοὶ here are the Erechtheum and the Parthenon.

<sup>1</sup> Polyæn. Strat. i. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The position of which, assigned on the authority of Pausanias, is confirmed by the inscription found near the spot by Dodwell, i. p. 371.

<sup>3</sup> From Herod. viii. 52. through the Pelasgicum τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Thuc. ii. 14.



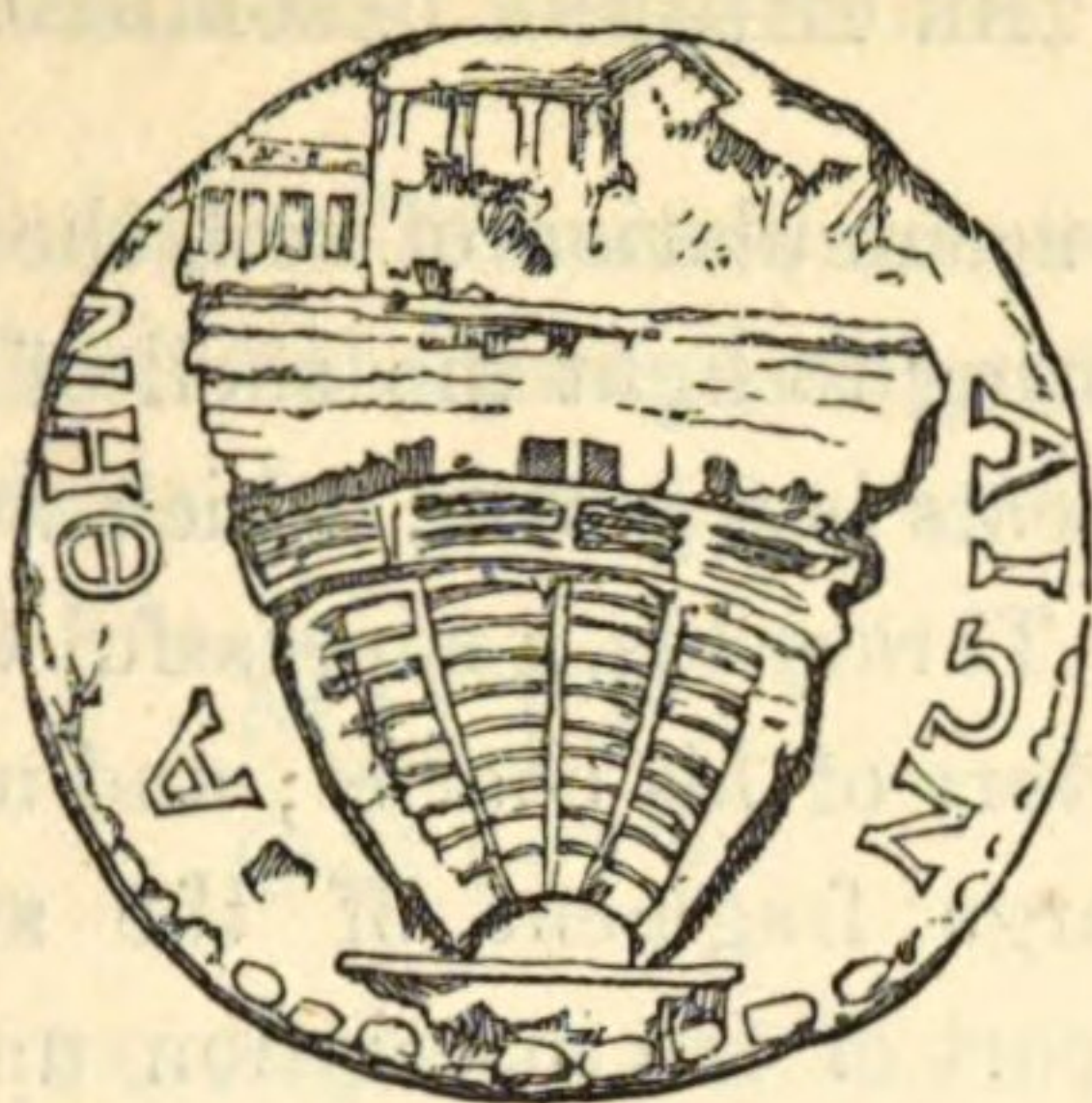
If a secret communication existed between the Agraulium and the Acropolis, the grotto which is at present blocked up because it possesses such a communication, may be that which was once consecrated to Agraulus.

The ascent effected by the Persians, together with the tradition that Agraulus here precipitated herself from the rock of the Acropolis, devoting herself by that act as a sacrifice to save her country, may also be supposed to have been the cause that the sanctuary of Agraulus was chosen as the spot where the military oath was administered to the young soldiers of Athens,<sup>1</sup> by which they bound themselves in presence of the deity of the place, to defend their country until death.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἐφῆβων ὄρκος ἐν τῷ τῆς Αἰγρούλου. Demosth. 438. 18. and Plutarch. vit. Alcib. xv.

<sup>2</sup> While this sheet was passing through the press a letter from Athens brought the intelligence that "close to the Erechtheum (Παλλάδος ναός. Eur. Ion. see note p. 72.) a *subterranean way has been found* leading down to the cavern supposed of Agraulus, and leading out into the town from the centre of the northern face of the Acropolis rock." Cp. Pittakys. *Athènes*, p. 149. This confirms the conjectures in the text.





Coin of Athens, exhibiting the Theatre, from a specimen in the British Museum.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### ATHENS.

#### *The Theatre.*

Credit miros audire Tragœdos,  
In vacuo lætus sessor plausorque Theatro.

HORAT.

*To hear the Tragic<sup>1</sup> strain still Fancy seems  
From the void Stage, applauding her own dreams.*

THE next monument of a similar character to which we may advert, is the THEATRE.<sup>2</sup> It lay beneath the southern wall of the Acropolis, near its eastern extremity; and was formed by the sloping rock in which its seats were scooped, rising one above another. It was commenced B.C. 500, and finished under Lycurgus, B.C. 340. The curve of each seat was nearly a semicircle: and of the semicircles thus formed, the diameter increased with the ascent. Of these seats carved in the <sup>3</sup> highest rock two only are visible; the rest are

<sup>1</sup> Of the *singing* or recitative of ancient tragedies there is a curious vestige in the modern language of Greece, in which τραγουδία is the common term for a *Song*.

<sup>2</sup> In Philostrat. V. A. iv. p. 179. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς τὸ Θέατρον τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκροπόλει is an error for ὑπὸ.

<sup>3</sup> Hence the act of the Κόλαξ, (Theoph. Char. ii.) τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τῷ



concealed by the accumulation of soil, the removal of which would probably bring to light the shell of the Theatre.<sup>1</sup>

Above these seats is a grotto, which was first converted into a Temple by Thrasyllus, a successful Choregus, to commemorate the victory of his chorus; and more recently into a church. A large fragment of the architrave of this Temple, with a part of the inscription upon it, is lying on the slope of the Theatre, and has been hewn into a drinking-trough. The Temple and the Church are in ruins; and the decorated grotto has become once more a simple cave.

A little to the west of the cave is a large rectangular niche, in which, it may be conjectured, a statue once stood: some holes are drilled in the rock, as if for the insertion of horizontal beams, on which, in the more effeminate times of Athens, a velarium, or awning, was perhaps extended. These are the only remains now visible of the Theatre.

The objects immediately connected with it are two columns which stand on the rock above the Theatre and below the CIMONIAN or southern WALL of the Acropolis. The triangular summits of the capitals of these columns once supported tripods dedicated to Bacchus by Choregi who had gained the dramatic prize in the Theatre below; and about the base of the more eastern of the two were inscribed the names of these victors which are now in a mutilated state,

<sup>2</sup> ΗΛΙ . . . . .  
ΜΑΞΙΜΟC ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC ΓΑ . . . .  
. . . . . ΟC CΤΑΤΟΝΕΙΚΟC

θεάτρῳ ἀφελόμενος τὸ προσκεφάλαιον αὐτὸς ὑποστρώσαι is explained from the hardness of the seat.

<sup>1</sup> There are therefore at this time three *συγχορηγοί*. Compare Clinton. Fast. Hel. ii. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> It is represented by an ancient brass coin in the British Museum, with the Parthenon above it, in the foregoing page.



A little to the east of the cave are two other inscriptions<sup>1</sup> cut in the face of the rock, on our right as we ascend toward the two columns: the first is

ΜΗΤΡ  
ΟΒΙΟΥ

*The oblation of Metrobius,*

and a little above it to the east, engraved in the rock is

ΑΙΠΕΙΩΝΙ  
ΑΝΘΚΑΙ  
ΓΡΙΠΟΣΑ ΝΕ  
ΘΕΣΑΝ

*Ælius Pisonianus and Gripus dedicated this.*<sup>2</sup>

If these inscriptions were placed here by successful Choregi under tripods dedicated by themselves, as seems probable, they would show, by the characters in which they are engraved, that the Athenian Theatre was used for dramatic exhibitions till a late period after the reduction of Athens by the Roman power.

The <sup>3</sup>exact dimensions of the Theatre cannot now be ascertained. The projecting horns of its semicircle were constructed of coarse stone. From the inner extremity of one of these horns to that of the other is about seventy-five yards. From this line to the highest seat, by the slope, is a

<sup>1</sup> The rock above the highest seat in the Theatre, which has been cut perpendicularly, was called, from this circumstance, *Κατατομή*. It is well illustrated by Harpocratio in v. *Κατατομή*, who there mentions tripods (such as these on the columns) above the Theatre, and inscriptions like those noticed above, cut in the face of the rock.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Rose, *Inscript.* p. xxxix.

<sup>3</sup> It is called *Hecatompedium*, by Hesychius in v. *ἐκατόμπεδον*, probably from its *symmetry* alone.



hundred yards. An entrance for the spectators from the N.E. appears to have existed at an elevated point of this slope.

The Topographer Dicæarchus is supposed to have described this Theatre as the most magnificent in the world in his day; and this character is thought to be confirmed by the authority<sup>1</sup> of Plato, who speaks of more than thirty thousand persons assembled in this place.

But the local evidence itself is so much at variance with those two assertions, that we may be allowed to think that there is some misconception with respect to them. As far as regards the passage of Dicæarchus, the expression of admiration which it contains, may perhaps refer to the<sup>2</sup> *Odeum*, and *not* to the *Theatre*. And in that of Plato, it may well admit a question whether he intended to state what others appear to have been induced by him to believe, that an audience of<sup>3</sup> thirty thousand persons were ever contained in the Theatre of Athens at one and the same sitting.

<sup>1</sup> Sympos. 175. e. (where Socrates is speaking of Agathon's dramatic victory in the theatre) ἡ δόξα σου ἐμφανῆς ἐγένετο ἐν μάρτυσιν Ἑλλήνων πλέον ἢ τρισμυρίοις.

<sup>2</sup> The passage of Dicæarchus is (p. 8. Hudson, G. M. or Creutzer Melelemata iii. p. 80) ὦδε ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη καλλιστον Θέατρον ἀξιόλογον μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν—where for ὦδε ἦν, Hemsterhuis. in Wesseling. Probabil. p. 335. and Boissonade Philostr. 662. and on L. Holst. Epist. p. 14. note, have substituted ὦδεῖον.

<sup>3</sup> The term τρισμύριοι was a general one employed to signify in round numbers the whole free adult population of Athens at the time; Boeck. Econ. i. p. 48. It is no more to be taken *literally* in the passage of Plato, than is Juvenal's similar expression '*Totam hodie Romam Circus capit.*' Compare Col. Leake's *Morea*, ii. 535. It is curious that the term τρισμύριοι still remains in the Greek language as a general expression of the number, not indeed of the population of Athens, but of Greece. A. Soutzo, 1833, in his poem to King Otho (p. 80.) says

καὶ διέβης τῆς Ναυπλίας τὰς πρασίνοὺς πεδιάδας  
ὁπαδοὺς κ' εὐχετὰς ἔχων τρεῖς Ἑλλήνων μυριάδας,



But whatever its capacity might have been, the Theatre of Athens did not depend on its dimensions for the attractions which it possessed. Here on this gentle slope, with the Parthenon and the Acropolis immediately above them, and the valley of the Ilissus not far beneath, at the beginning of spring, in a transparent atmosphere, and under a clear sky, with a gentle breeze refreshing them from the sea, the spectators sat, encircled by <sup>1</sup> enchantments of nature and art, which the Athenian Theatre blended in exquisite perfection.

The dramatic influence of this union—of this interweaving as it were of natural scenery with that of the theatre—deserves consideration.

It furnished the scenic poet with a greater range of subjects, and with greater freedom in treating them. To one of these Poets it gave free scope to his bold conceptions, and supplied objects for his imagination to deal with. It will be found that most of the metaphorical expressions of Æschylus are derived from objects *visible* to the audience while they listened to the poetic recitals of the Theatre. Seas and storms, building of ships and their navigation; feeding of flocks on the hills, hunting in the woods, fishing on the sea, walls and fortifications, the Stadium and its course;

which may be compared with the expression cited from Plāto (Sympos. 175. d.) ἡ δόξα σου ἐμφανῆς ἐγένετο ἐν μάρτυσιν Ἑλλήνων πλέον ἢ τρισμυρίοις.

<sup>1</sup> The effect of this enchantment is, in the author's usual style, fancifully illustrated in the topographical fragment on Athens (Dicæarchus, p. 9) ἔστι ταῖς θεαῖς ἡ πόλις λήθην ΕΜΠΟΙΟΥΣΑ (read ΕΜΠΙΟΥΣΑ, i. e. *imbibing* oblivion, “longa oblivia potans” by means of public spectacles). Compare Lucian. Tim. p. 170. καθάπερ τὸ λήθης ὕδωρ ἐκπιῶν τῆς τῶν σίτων προσφορᾶς. Dicæarchus here means to say, “The city of Athens beguiles itself of hunger by means of its dramatic Spectacles.” Compare also the story in Herodotus of the Lydians beguiling themselves of hunger in a famine by means of the games they invented for the purpose; and see S. Irenæus, p. 190, ed. Grab.



these are the simple and natural sources from which Æschylus derived his copious streams of figurative diction; and they were all either immediately within view, or in near connection with that theatre where the language they enriched was uttered. They were the natural elements of the poetical atmosphere of the theatre, and the dramatic poet breathed them as his native air.

Similarly, Sophocles (Ajax 596.) speaks with a local truth, when he says in the Theatre at Athens, of the islands of Salamis,

ὦ κλεινὰ Σαλαμῖς, σὺ μὲν που  
ναίεις ἀλίπλαγκτος εὐδαίμων  
πασιν περίφαντος ἀεί·  
ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τλάμων, κ. τ. λ.

*O noble Salamis, Thou indeed  
Buoyed on the wave, dost happy dwell  
Conspicuous ever in the eyes of men.  
While I &c.*

The peaked hills of Salamis stood in the western horizon; a picture illustrating the poet's words with visible beauty.

To Euripides again, this combination afforded the most favourable field for expressing the tenets of his own philosophy. While Æschylus exulted in the rich variety of natural objects before him, Euripides laboured to blend them into one; and the sky being open, and the air free about him, he pronounced with peculiar energy the pantheistic words,

<sup>1</sup> ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἀπειρον αἰθέρα  
καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;  
τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.

*Seest thou the abyss of sky that hangs above thee,  
And clasps the earth around in moist embrace?  
This to be Jove believe, This deem thou god.*

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. frag. incert. i. 2.



The position of the Theatre gave great advantages to the dramatic Poets of Athens, not as inventors merely, but as addressing an audience for great moral, social, and political purposes. To select one: Being placed immediately under the Acropolis, being seated, if we may so say, on the very steps of that great natural Temple, (for such the Acropolis was to the Athenians,) the audience were thus connected with what was most sacred and beautiful in the Athenian city. They were consecrated by this union. Just above them stood the Temple of Minerva, and the statue of the Jupiter of the Citadel.<sup>1</sup> They were sitting thus, as the Poet expresses it, "under the wings of Gods." He might therefore well speak to them in this language from the stage,

χαίρετ' ἀστικὸς λεῶς  
ἵκταρ ἡμενοὶ Διὸς,  
Παρθένου φίλας φίλοι  
σωφρονοῦντες ἐν χρόνῳ,  
Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς  
ὄντας ἄζεται Πατήρ.

ÆSCH. *Eumen.* 953.

*Hail ye denizens, who sit  
Rang'd beneath the throne of Jove,  
To the dear Virgin-Goddess dear,  
By Time instructed to be wise.  
You who dwell beneath the wings<sup>2</sup>  
Of Pallas, doth her Sire revere.*

And while reminding them of these their privileges, he might stimulate them by sensible appeals to prove by their acts that they did not forget the favour of Heaven and their own consequent duties and dignity.

The same observation may be applied to another department of dramatic literature. The successful daring of the

<sup>1</sup> Ζεὺς Πολιεύς. Pausan. i. 24. 4.

<sup>2</sup> As represented in the coin mentioned above, p. 75, note.



Aristophanic plays may be ascribed, in a great degree, to the peculiar advantages of position and construction which the Theatre of Athens possessed. How, for instance, in the confinement of a modern theatre, could we imagine a Trygæus soaring above the sea in an aerial excursion?<sup>1</sup> There his journey would be reduced to a mere mechanical process of ropes and pulleys, and would be inexorably baffled by the wooden resistance of the roof. But in the Athenian Theatre the sky was visible, whither he was soaring, and where he was placed by the simple machinery of the imagination of the spectators, to which free play was given by the natural properties of the Theatre.

How again, if pent in by the limits of a modern theatre, could the BIRDS be imagined to build their aerial city?<sup>2</sup> How could the CLOUDS have come sailing on the stage from the heights of a neighbouring Parnes? How in such a position as that could the future Minister of Athens have surveyed from the stage (as he does in the Aristophanic play),<sup>3</sup> the natural map of his own future domains, the Agora, the Harbours, and the Pnyx, and all the tributary Islands lying in a group around him?

These conceptions, and such as these, are characteristic of the genius of the Athenian drama: on a modern stage they would be forced and inadmissible; but here, under an open sky, with the hills of Athens around him, and a part of the city beneath him, they would seem to the spectator to be in some sense the creations of the place, no less than of the poet himself.

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. Pac. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Av. 785.

<sup>3</sup> Equites, 165. Steinbuchel Alterthumskunde, p. 17. concludes some good observations on this subject with the remark that "Der Grieche wählte vorzugsweise den Ort (for their Theatres) welcher zugleich die lohnendste Aussicht *über Stadt und Hafen* und die naechste Umgebung both" . . .



This subject brings us back to what was before noticed as a characteristic of the Pnyx and the Areopagus. Here we leave it, with one observation on these buildings, founded on their local character. Plato,<sup>1</sup> speaking of simultaneous expressions of feeling from large masses of persons, as one of the most powerful, and sometimes one of the most dangerous, instruments of Education, thus describes the effect produced on a youthful mind by applause and vituperation in public places, alluding particularly to the Theatre, the Areopagus, and the Pnyx, and with a special reference to their local properties;

“Οταν συγκαθεζόμενοι ἄθροοι πολλοὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίας ἢ εἰς δικαστήρια ἢ θέατρα, ξὺν πολλῷ θορύβῳ τὰ μὲν ψέγωσι τῶν λεγομένων ἢ πραττομένων, τὰ δὲ ἐπαινῶσιν, ὑπερβαλλόντως ἑκάτερα, καὶ ἐκβοῶντες καὶ κροτοῦντες· πρὸς δ’ αὐτοῖς αἰ τε <sup>2</sup> πέτραι καὶ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἂν ᾧσιν ἐπηχοῦντες διπλάσιον θόρυβον παρέχωσι τοῦ ψόγου τε καὶ ἐπαίνου· ἐν δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ τὸν νέον, τὸ λεγόμενον, τίνα οἶει καρδίαν ἴσχειν; ἢ ποίαν ἂν αὐτῷ παιδείαν ἰδιωτικὴν ἀνθέξειν, ἣν οὐ κατακλυσθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου ψόγου ἢ ἐπαίνου οἰχήσεσθαι φερομένην κατὰ ῥοὴν ἢ ἂν οὗτος φέρῃ;

*When multitudes of men sit crowded together in ASSEMBLIES, (e.g. the Pnyx), COURTS OF JUSTICE, (e.g. the Areopagus), or at THEATRES, (e.g. the Dionysiac), and with loud uproar condemn some things and praise others which are there said or done, doing both with extravagance, by bawling and tumultuous applause; and when, in addition to this, the ROCKS and the place in which they are, produce, by their echo, a redoubled<sup>3</sup> din of the praise and blame; in such a posture as this, what, think you, are the feelings, as the saying is, of our Young Man, or what private Education deem you will enable him to resist the torrent, so as not to be swept along by the deluge of such praise or blame, and dashed where these expressions may carry it?*

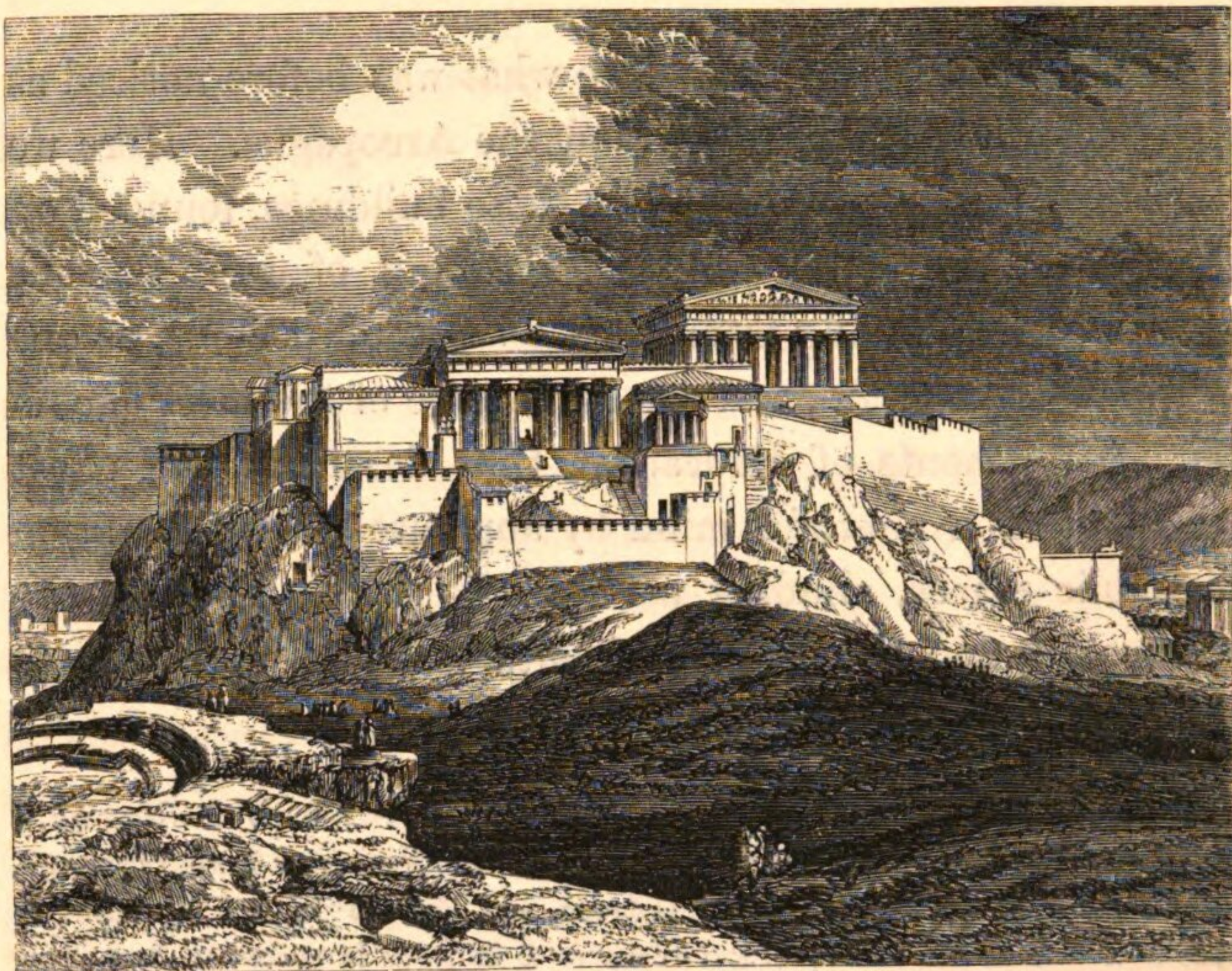
<sup>1</sup> Plato Repub. vi. 492. B.

<sup>2</sup> The πέτραι alluded to, are in the Theatre, the southern rocks of the Acropolis; in the Pnyx, those described above, page 59.

<sup>3</sup> Hence perhaps may be illustrated the somewhat obscure passage of Virgil, Georgic ii. 508.

“Hic stupet attonitus *Rostris*, hunc plausus hiantem  
Per *cuneos*, *geminatur enim*, *Plebisque Patrumque*,  
Corripuit.”——





West view of the Acropolis restored.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### ATHENS.

#### *The Acropolis.*



Ἀνίωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν αὐτὴν ὥς ἂν ἐκ περιωπῆς ἅμα καταφανῇ πάντα  
ἢ τὰ ἐν πόλει.

LUCIAN. *Piscator* xv.

*Let us ascend the Acropolis, that we may have a Panoramic view of the City.*

IN its best days the ACROPOLIS of Athens had four distinct characters. It was the Fortress, the <sup>1</sup> Sacred Enclosure, the

<sup>1</sup> Lysist. 484.

ἄβατον Ἀκρόπολιν  
ἱερὸν τέμενος.

Demosth. π.π. 438. 12. ὅλης οὐσης ἱερᾶς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. Hence no dogs were admitted. Dio Hal. 637. 6.



Treasury, and the <sup>1</sup> Museum of Art of Athens. Thus a flat oblong rock, the greatest length of which was a thousand feet, and breadth five hundred, became one of the most interesting spots of ground on the face of the heathen earth. From those four elements here blended together, the rock of the Acropolis at Athens might have claimed to be considered as the representation of the perfect Greek character, somewhat in the same manner as the Rhenish rock, the Ehren Breitstein of Coblenz, has been regarded by some as the type of the chivalrous and Christian.

The position of this Athenian rock, the Acropolis, has suggested ingenious fancies. It was the heart of Athens, as Athens was the <sup>2</sup> heart of Greece: it was the centre of the imaginary spiral in which all that was great and beautiful in Greece was involved. Again, in its sanctity, its beauty and

<sup>1</sup> There is a particular allusion to the Acropolis, and this its character as a Museum, in Dicæarchus (p. 9.) where he calls the city of Athens θαυμαστόν ΠΛΙΝΘΙΝΩΝ ζώων διδασκαλείον; but what are ζῶα πλίνθινα? The true reading I conceive to be θαυμαστόν ΤΙ ΛΙΘΙΝΩΝ ΖΩΙΩΝ διδασκαλείον, i. e. "a certain admirable Studio of Sculpture." Works of sculpture were called ζῶα λίθινα, as is evident from Philemon (Athenæi 605. f.)

ἀλλ' ἐν Σάμῳ μὲν τοῦ λιθίνου ζῴου πότε  
ἄνθρωπος ἠράσθη τις.

*At Samos too a man once fell in love  
With the Statue in the Temple.*

And Aristotle (in Diog. Laert. v. p. 277. quoted by Meineke,) ζῶα λίθινα ἀναθεῖναι Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ. Hence the frieze of a building is called its zophorus, λίθος πρὸς ᾧ τὰ ζῶα, see Erechtheum Inscription, and Elmsley's Review of Hermann's Suppl. v. 966. In MSS., "perpetuo confunduntur aut a se invicem perduntur π. τι." Porson. Phœniss. 1277. and ἰ is equivalent to ἰν. Hence arose the corruption in the text of Dicæarchus, who deserves a better edition than he has yet received.

<sup>2</sup> Aristid. Panathen. ὥς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος, κύκλων εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐμβεβηκότων πέμπτος εἰς ὀμφαλὸν πληροῖ. The Acropolis is the ἄσπεος ὀμφαλὸς θυόεις ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς Αῠάναις, in Pindar. (frag. Dith. iv. p. 225, Dissen.)



its form, it resembled a decorated Pedestal, or a massive Altar, one great *Ἀνάθημα* to the Gods. Hence the attainment of a place in the Acropolis, was regarded as an apotheosis of men and their works.<sup>1</sup>

Eighteen hundred years ago Strabo lamented the multiplicity of objects claiming the notice of the topographer in Athens, and especially in the Acropolis. At this time were he to revive he would feel much relieved from his embarrassment. Descriptions of them have increased in number, while objects to be described have diminished. The Archæological Heliodori<sup>2</sup> and Polemons of modern times have been as active as their predecessors in the same field, and with less material to employ them. We need not therefore regret with the Greek geographer, that our subject is too wide for our limits. This remark is more particularly applicable to the decorated buildings of Athens. A great part of the old city might now be rebuilt from the plans furnished by modern descriptions of it.

We pass from the Theatre toward the S.W. angle of the citadel, in our way to the Acropolis. At this angle<sup>3</sup> stood the TEMPLE of VENUS PANDEMUS and PEITHO, which, though no longer in existence, may be noticed for the sake of a passage of Euripides, that seems still to require illustration. Euripides tells his audience, that this spot, which was

<sup>1</sup> Cicero (at the end of his Proœm. Paradox.) *Opus, tale ut in Arce poni posset ; quasi (qualis ?) illa Minerva Phidiæ.*

<sup>2</sup> Polemon wrote four books on the Acropolis ; Heliodorus fifteen. We read in Horace also of Roman writers in his age,

“ . . . quibus unum opus est intactæ Palladis Arcem  
Carminè perpetuo celebrare ” . . .

Among the recent works on the subject may be mentioned, as deserving special notice, Mr. Penrose's “Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture.” London : 1851.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. i. 22, 3. Comp. Boeck. Corp. Ins. i. p. 474.



near <sup>1</sup> the Theatre, and appealed to, no doubt, by Aphrodite, while she recited the following lines, was chosen by Phædra for the site of a temple to Venus, as commanding a view of Trœzen (which it does), where Hippolytus was residing,

<sup>2</sup> Πέτραν παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος, κατόψιον  
γῆς τῆσδε, ναὸν Κύπριδος καθεΐσατο  
ἔρῳσ' ἔρωτ' ἔκδημον, 'Ιππολύτῳ δ' ἔπι  
τὸ λοιπὸν ὠνόμαζεν ἰδρύσθαι Θεάν.

Close to the rock of Pallas, looking on  
This land, a Temple she to Venus reared,  
Loving a foreign love : but now, she vows,  
Here Venus stands, Hippolytus, for thee.—

This latter clause is, I think, to be thus explained.<sup>3</sup> A temple on this same spot had been *before* dedicated to this same Deity, but by a different person and with a very different object. It was originally here dedicated to Venus by the *husband* of Phædra, Theseus, to commemorate his

<sup>1</sup> This nearness of the Temple of Peitho to the Theatre gave additional force and boldness to an assertion of the same dramatist in another play acted in the same place :

οὐκ ἔστι ΠΕΙΘΟΥΣ ΙΕΡΟΝ ἄλλο πλὴν λόγος,  
καὶ ΒΩΜΟΣ αὐτῆς ἐστ' ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει.

EURIP. frag. *Antig.*

*There is no other TEMPLE OF PERSUASION  
Than Speech ; and in Man's heart her ALTAR is.*

<sup>2</sup> Eurip. Hippol. 30.

<sup>3</sup> This association, as θεοὶ σύνναοι, in the same Temple, of Aphrodite and Peitho (*Suadela Venusque*) is illustrated by Pausan. i. 22, 3. and the elegant fragment of Ibycus. Athen. 564. d. σὲ μὲν Κύπρις ἃ τ' ἀγανοβλέφαρος Πειθὼ ροδέοισιν ἐν ἄνθεσι θρέψαν, and by a group consisting of Helen, Paris, Peitho and Aphrodite in Winckelmann. Mon. Ined. p. 157. This union has been dissolved by the copyist in Pliny (N. H. xxxvi. 4). "*Scopas fecit Venerem et Pothon et Phaethontem*," which has been quoted by Hirt in one place (*Bildenkunste* p. 210.) without suspicion ; in another (in Sillig's Catalog. Artif. p. 488.) he has corrected the last word to *Phanetem*. But it ought rather, I conceive, to be PEITHONEM. Let me confirm this (for Wolf's note on



success in collecting the scattered inhabitants of Attica (πανδημί) under one federal head; this result he professed to have owed to the divine influence of Venus and Persuasion. The object of its dedication was now altered by Phædra. Venus was placed here *no longer* as having united in one state a domestic population; *but* in order that she might help to conciliate to Phædra the *foreign* object of her affection (ἔρως ἑκδημος); and therefore Phædra pronounced that the Goddess had been here enshrined for the future, (τὸ λοιπὸν) *not* to record a popular union, *but* (Ἰππολύτῳ δ' ἐπι) for the sake of the absent Hippolytus. The erection of this temple by Phædra was therefore well mentioned by Euripides, as a proof of her infatuation. She had thus built for her own passion over the monument of her husband's policy; and had sacrificed the honour of her home and of her adopted nation to that of an individual stranger, and him, her husband's son.

A little higher, on the right, is a spot connected with the history of the same heroic family. Ægeus, the father of Theseus, is said by Pausanias to have watched from this place the return of his son's vessel from Crete. The oldest

Hesiod Theog. 987, may render a confirmation necessary) from Æschylus Suppl. 1025.

ΚΥΠΡΙΔΟΣ δ' οὐκ ἀμελείῃ θεσ-  
μὸς ὅδ' εὐφρων. . .  
μετάκοινοι δὲ φίλα μα-  
τρὶ πάρεισιν ΠΟΘΟΣ ἃ τ' οὐ-  
δὲν ἄπαρνον τελέθει θέλκ-  
τορι ΠΕΙΘΟΙ. . .

where the members of the group are identical with those in that of Scopas mentioned by Pliny. Com. Pausan. i. 43, 6. The Latin accusative *onem* and *untem* has perplexed transcribers. See the Latin Schol. in Runkel's Cratinus, p. 82, where, for "Jupiter in *Ramum* evolavit Atticæ regionis," not *Rhamnunta*, but *Rhamn untem* (i. e. *Rhamnūm*) is to be substituted.



Athenian traditions cling to the Athenian Acropolis;<sup>1</sup> and while the Cecropian rock itself is thus clad with a venerable ideal beauty, arising from the age and varied hues of these—if we may so call them,—its old mythological weather stains and lichens clustering about its sides,—it is at the same time by their presence proved to have been, as we know from history it was, the cradle in which the infant population of Athens was nursed. This spot commands a prospect of the sea. From this rock Ægeus threw himself when he saw the black sail on his son's mast; and there is a truth and beauty in the description of Catullus which can nowhere be more sensibly felt than on this spot,

At Pater ut summa prospectum ex arce petebat,  
Anxia in assiduos absumens lumina fletus,  
Quum primum inflati prospexit lintea veli,  
Præcipitem sese scopulorum e vertice jecit  
Amissum credens inmiti Thesea fato.

*Mounting the City's speculative crest,  
Wasting in ceaseless tears his anxious eyes,  
When first the father saw the swollen sail,  
From the cliff's brow he headlong fell, believing  
That Theseus had been slain by ruthless Fate.*

Catullus has been saved from an error, perhaps by his acquaintance with the scene, into which later writers have fallen. They, with some few exceptions, make Ægeus<sup>2</sup> throw

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. ii. 14. τὸ πρὸς τοῦτου ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν. Of which fact the citadel still preserved a record in its name, *Polis*. Thuc. ii. 15. καλεῖται διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτη κατοίκησιν ἡ ἀκρόπολις μεχρὶ τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.

<sup>2</sup> In order to give a name to the *Ægean* (Serv. Æneid. iii. 74. Keightly Mythol. p. 349.) which etymology is refuted by the word *Ægean* alone. The sea is Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος: but the adjective from Ægeus is Αἰγείος. They both occur in Æsch. Ag. 645. Eumen. 653. The accurate observation of the Scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. i. 831. might have cautioned the mythologists against this error.



himself from the rock of the Acropolis into the sea—which is *three miles off*.

Here also stood the TEMPLE of VICTORY, a little to the west of the southern wing of the Propylæa. The statue of Victory in this temple was sculptured *wingless*. Such a representation of Victory was conformable to the more ancient, but not to the then<sup>1</sup> received, method of exhibiting that Goddess. The difference in the modes by which Sparta and Athens respectively expressed a similar feeling is characteristic of both. To secure the permanence of his favour, the sterner Spartans *chained* their Deity of War to his shrine; the Athenians, with more delicacy, relieved their Victory of her wings.<sup>2</sup>

This Temple of Victory brings the Lysistrata of Aristophanes and her opponents once more before us. The latter mount toward the citadel by nearly the same path as we are now treading. They are come to what they call the <sup>3</sup>σιμόν

<sup>1</sup> For, Aristoph. Aves 574. αὐτίκα Νίκη πέτεται πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν. See also Pausan. iii. 15, 7. This Deity was also termed Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ (on which see Dobree Advers. i. p. 482). Standing thus as she did at the exit from the Acropolis, she was properly implored to aid them as an escort (προπομπὸς), by persons starting on any dangerous enterprise, as in Soph., Philoct. 134 :—

Ἑρμης δὲ πέμπων δόλιος ἡγήσαιο νῶν,  
Νίκη τ' Ἀθάνᾳ Πολιάς, ἥ σώζει μ' αἰεί.

Pausan. Messen. c. 36, says that this Temple was erected after the battle of Sphacteria.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. Lacon. c. 15. Recent discoveries have brought to light this Temple of Victory. The following communication is from W. R. Hamilton, Esq. "The height of the columns, some of which are *in situ*, is 3. 58 French mètres. The wall of the cella is replaced to the height of about two feet. The southern wing of the Propylæa, to the west of which the Temple stands, was within the line of the northern wing." See also the account of it given by C. H. Bracebridge, Esq., in his letter in the Appendix to the present volume.

<sup>3</sup> Whence the modern Greek word σιμά, *near*, and "ἀποσιμόνω (*éloigner*), ἀποσιμοῦν νᾶυν. Thuc. iv. 25." Koray. Atak. iv. p. 499.



of the Acropolis ; and no other word can so well express the character of the flat slope on its western side, the only accessible approach to the citadel. They are supposed to be arriving at this point ; hence their invocation for aid to Victory (δέσποινα Νίκη ξυγγενοῦ,) before whose Temple they stand ; and the expressions by which their courage displays itself have a peculiar propriety, which a reference to the spot on which they are uttered, can alone explain. They declare their fixed determination never to yield to their female antagonists ; they will, they say, extirpate all tyranny ; they will wield the myrtle-braided sword, and take their stand here close to Aristogeiton, whose glorious deeds they intend to rival.<sup>1</sup> This boast is very appropriate ; for the statue of

<sup>1</sup> Lysist. 632.

φορήσω τὸ ξίφος ἰδὲ λοιπὸν ἐν μύρτου κλαδί,  
ἀγοράσω τ' ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις ἐξῆς Ἀριστογείτονι  
ᾧ δέ θ' ἐστήξω παρ' αὐτόν·

*I will wield my sword hereafter braided with the myrtle spray,  
Standing near Aristogeiton, arm'd, and in the Agora  
Here will keep my post beside him.*

This last trait is very characteristic and happy : for in ordinary cases when an honorary statue, to be placed in the Agora, was granted by the Athenian State, it was expressly provided by a clause in the grant itself, that the Statue should *not* be placed near that of Aristogeiton ; but, in fact, *any where* else in the Agora *except* ἐξῆς Ἀριστογείτονι. In the opinion of Athenians, no one deserved the honour of being placed by his side, except Harmodius. This is proved by an honorary inscription copied at Athens in the collection of Mr. Finlay : to whom let me here express my gratitude for assistance rendered at Athens in the prosecution of these enquiries.

. . ΔΟΥΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΣΙΤ  
ΗΣΙΝΕΜΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΩΙΚΑΙΓΡ  
ΟΕΔΡΙΑΝΕΝΑΠΑΣΙΤΟΙΣΑΓΩ  
ΣΙΝΤΟΙΣΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΕΓ  
ΓΟΝΩΝΤΩΙΓΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΤΩΙΕΙ  
ΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΕΙΚΟΝΑΣΤ



ARISTOGEITON stood beneath this point, in the Agora, near the ascent<sup>1</sup> to the Acropolis.

It would not be difficult to multiply similar remarks illustrative of other passages in the same play. Indeed, the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, in some of its scenes, is the best topographical guide-book to the Acropolis.

Η ΣΑΙΕΑΥΤΟΥΧΑΛΧΗΝΕΦΙΠΡ  
ΟΥΕΝΑΓΟΡΑΙΟΓΟΥΑΜΒΟΥΛΗ  
ΤΑΙΠΛΗΝΠΑΡΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΝΚΑΙ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΙΤΟΝΑ.

[Be it decreed]

*to give him both maintenance  
in the Prytaneum and a front-seat  
at all the Games celebrated  
by the state, and to the el-  
dest of his descendants, and  
that permission may be granted him to erect also  
a Bronze Equestrian Statue of himself  
in the Agora, wherever he may choose,  
except BY THE SIDE OF HARMODIUS AND  
ARISTOGEITON.*

Compare Cramer's *Greece*, ii. p. 304. Dio. Chrys. i. 637. on the especial honours, (τιμαὶ ἐξαίρετοι as the latter calls them,) paid to Aristogeiton.

<sup>1</sup> Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* iii. p. 197. Blancard. Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Αριστογείτονος χαλκαὶ εἰκόνες κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, ἣ ἄνιμεν ἐς πόλιν καταγτικρὸν μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρώου. . .



## CHAPTER XV.

### ATHENS—THE ACROPOLIS.

*Propylæa, Parthenon.*

Adsta, atque Athenas antiquum opulentum oppidum  
Contempla ; atque templum Cereris ad lævam adspice.

<sup>1</sup> ENNIUS, *Medea*, p. 22. *Scriber.*

*Pause here, and scan the rich and antique Athens,  
And mark the fane of Ceres on the left.*

Præclara illa Propylæa.

CIC. *de Officiis*, ii. 15.

A PECULIAR interest belongs to the door of St. Peter's Church at Rome, which is opened by the hand of the Pope to admit into the church the crowds of the periodic Jubilee, and at all other times remains shut. What a deep and strong tide of feeling has flowed through that entrance ! Here we stand before the PROPYLÆA of the Athenian Acropolis. Through the central door of this building moved the periodic processions of the Panathenaic Jubilee. The marks of their chariot wheels are still visible on the stone floor of its entrance ; and in the narrow space between

<sup>1</sup> The Temple of Ceres (see Pausan. i. 22.) stood on the *right* of the entrance to the Propylæa. The Propylæa were probably depicted as the scenic decoration of this play of Ennius. To the actors, therefore, turning to the audience, the Temple of Ceres was on their *left*, as here expressed. For the same reason, it seems, the Heræum is placed to the *left* of Argos and Mycenæ by Sophocles (*Elect.* 7.), whereas, in fact, to a person approaching these places, it was on the *right* of both.



those two deep lines in the pavement, the feet of the noblest Athenians, since the age of Pericles, have trod.

Here, above all places at Athens, the mind of the traveller enjoys exquisite delight. It seems as if this portal had been spared in order that the Imagination might send through it, as through a triumphal arch, all the glories of Athenian Antiquity in visible parade. In our visions of that spectacle we may unrol the long Panathenaic frieze of Phidias, transferring the procession of sculptural figures from their place on the marble walls of the cella of the Parthenon, in order that, endued with ideal life, they may move through this splendid avenue.

The erection of the Propylæa was commenced at the most brilliant period of Athenian history. The year itself, the archonship of Euthymenes, B.C. 437, in which the enterprise was undertaken, seems to have been proverbial for sumptuous conceptions.<sup>1</sup> The Propylæa, constructed of Pentelic marble, after the design of Mnesicles, were completed in five years: and, henceforth, were always appealed to as the proudest ornaments of the Athenian city.

The day in which it should be their lot to guide their festal Car in the sacred procession through this doorway into the Citadel<sup>2</sup> was held out to their aspiring sons by

<sup>1</sup> For it seems probable that this character for its profuse expenditure, as well as the distance of the epoch, recommended the year of Euthymenes to the choice of Aristophanes in *Acharn.* 67.

ἐπέμψαθ' ἡμᾶς ὥς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν  
μισθὸν φέροντας δύο δραχμὰς τῆς ἡμέρας  
ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος. . .

i. e. in the most lavish times.

<sup>2</sup> *Arist. Nub.* 69.

ὅταν σὺ μέγας ὦν ἄρμ' ἐλαύνῃς πρὸς Πόλιν.

*When you grow up a man and drive your car  
Up to the Citadel.*



fond mothers as one of the most glorious in their future career. Even national enemies paid homage to the magnificence of the fabric: and when in the Theban assembly, the noble Epaminondas intended to convey to his audience that they must struggle to transfer the glory of Athens to Thebes, he thus eloquently expressed that sentiment: "O men of Thebes, you must *uproot the Propylæa* of the Athenian Acropolis,<sup>1</sup> and plant them in front of the Cadmean Citadel." How much is it to be regretted that we have no remains of the orations of one who spoke thus!<sup>2</sup>

The Propylæa stood like a splendid frontispiece, a *τηλαυγὲς πρόσωπον*, of the Athenian Citadel. If we might compare the whole Acropolis to one of our own Christian Minsters planted on a hill, the Propylæa were its *West Door*. It was this particular point at Athens which was most admired by Athenians, nor is this surprising. Let us conceive such a restitution of this fabric as its surviving fragments suggest, let us imagine it restored to its pristine beauty, let it rise once more in the full dignity of its youthful stature, let all its architectural decorations be fresh

<sup>1</sup> Æschines. π. π. 29. Compare the catalogue of the mirabilia of Athens in Phœnic. Athenæi 652. e. whence it may be inferred that the Propylæa were sometimes simply termed Πύλαι, as the old entrance was by Herod. viii. 52, and that this is the case in the times of Alexis (Ath. 336. e.)

τί ταῦτα ληρεῖς φληναφῶν ἄνω κάτω  
Λυκεῖον, Ἀκαδήμειαν, Ὀδεῖον, Πύλας,  
λήρους σοφιστῶν; οὐδὲ ἐν τούτων καλόν.

The Propylæa could hardly have been omitted here. The *pediment* of the Propylæa seems to have attracted especial admiration. See Bekker's Anecd. p. 202, 20, and 348, 3. in *ἀετὸς προπύλαιος*. See also the remarkable passage in Cic. de Repub. iii. 32. Num aut vetus gloria (Athenarum) aut species præclara Oppidi, aut Theatrum, Gymnasia, Porticus, aut Propylæa nobilia, aut Arx, aut admiranda opera Phidiæ, aut Piræus ille magnificus Rempublicam efficiebant?

<sup>2</sup> Nepos. Vit. Epaminon. v. Fuit *disertus*, ut nemo Thebanus ei par esset eloquentiâ.



and perfect, let their mouldings be again brilliant with glowing tints of red and blue, let the coffers of its soffits be again spangled with stars, and the white marble antæ be fringed over, as they were once, with delicate embroidery of ivy leaf, let it be in such a lovely day as the present day of November—and then let the bronze valves of these five gates of the Propylæa be suddenly flung open, and all the splendours of the interior of the Acropolis burst suddenly upon the view,

ὄψεσθε δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἀνοιγνυμένων ψόφος ἤδη τῶν Προπυλαίων,  
ἀλλ' ὀλολύξατε φαινομέναισιν ταῖς ἀρχαίαισιν Ἀθήναις,  
καὶ θαυμασταῖς καὶ πολυῦμοις, ἔν' ὁ κλεινὸς Δῆμος ἐνοικεῖ.<sup>1</sup>

*But ye shall see ! for the opening doors I hear of the Propylæa,  
Shout, shout aloud ! at the view which appears of the old time-honour'd  
Athenæ,  
Wondrous in sight, and famous in song, where the noble DEMUS abideth.*

We return to what still exists.

On the PARTHENON we may not venture to say much. Even were it possible, it would be needless to do so. The essay upon it written by the architect Ictinus who erected this fabric under Pericles, B.C. 438, would probably add but little to our architectural knowledge of the Parthenon. In this respect material works constructed by regular laws and canons have an advantage over the freer productions of the intellect. The methodical organisation of architectural structure gives them an element of permanence. From the parts of the Parthenon still standing, from its fragments scattered on the ground, from the tints with which its marble mouldings are still faintly veined, the modern Architect by his inductive ingenuity may restore the Temple to its original beauty of symmetry and

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. Equites, 1326.



colour. Even an inexperienced observer may form some conjecture as to its original form and character from the same data. The mæander which he descries winding beneath the cornice, the honey-suckle ornament sprouting below the pediment, the shattered plate-band of a triglyph which he lights upon tinted with azure, and the guttæ of the same hue,<sup>1</sup>—looking like real rain-drops—the bronze nails under the triglyphs on the south side, on which festoons (ἔγκαρποι) were hung on days of festive solemnity; these, and some other vestiges of a similar kind, may furnish him with sufficient data wherewith to construct in his mind a Parthenon of his own,

Quale Te dicet tamen

Antehac fuisse, tales cum sint Reliquiæ!

But how shall he describe

Thy Perfectness, when such Thy Ruins are!

Some of the *sculptured* parts however of this building will baffle all his processes of restoration. The attempt to *infer* the treatment and details of the alto-relievo group which once occupied the *eastern* pediment, from the portions of it that remain,—and which represented the birth of Minerva from the head of Jupiter—would be as futile an attempt as that to reconstruct an Athenian Tragedy from a few fragmentary lines. The group of the *western* pediment has been more fortunate. From the parts of it which survive, its subject—the contest of Minerva with Neptune for the dominion of Athens—

<sup>1</sup> On this application of Painting to Architecture, as exemplified in the *Parthenon*, see Kugler über die *Polychromie* der Griechen p. 87, of the translation by Mr. W. R. Hamilton, inserted in the Transactions of British Architects, 1835; and Steiglitz. *Baukunst*, p. 295. The Parthenon has been described with minute accuracy by Mr. Penrose. A valuable contribution has been also made by Mr. Pennethorne.





and the manner in which that subject was treated, have been fully developed.<sup>1</sup>

One of the vestiges in the fabric of the Parthenon, though of a very different and less obtrusive kind, possesses a peculiar interest. At Pompeii, the impression of the ancient cyathus that is at this day visible on the marble slab of the shop in one of the streets, is one of those incidents,—touching perhaps more sensibly because its touch is so slight—which makes the spectator feel toward the old inhabitants of that place as toward acquaintances who have just left him. This feeling, and more than this, arises in the mind, when we look on the eastern front of the Parthenon, and see beneath its metopes the impressions left there by the round shields once attached to that part of its marble face. Beneath them are visible the traces of the inscriptions which recorded the names of those by whom those shields in battle had been worn, and by whom they had been won. Let us not pretend to the ingenuity which has recovered a long sentence on the portico of the *Maison Carrée* at Nîmes from the holes left by the bronze nails with which the letters of that sentence were attached to the temple, however much we should wish to be informed who, in the present case, the persons commemorated were.

There is reason to think that these shields, of which we now see the impressions, had caught the eye of Euripides, and that they suggested the beautiful expressions, by the mouth of his chorus, of a wish<sup>2</sup> for repose and tranquillity

<sup>1</sup> By Muller de Parthenonis Fastigio in his *Comment. de Phidiæ Vita*, p. 75. sqq. with a sketch of a proposed restoration. See also Col. Leake's *Memoir on the Disputed Positions in Athens*, p. 40. *Topography* p. 536, and Welcker in *Classical Museum*, ii. 367; vi. 279, and Mr. Lloyd, *ibid.* v. 396.

<sup>2</sup> See this longing expressed in his *Supplices*, v. 487.



which, as might be expected in a long war, the poet so deeply felt.

κείσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἄμφιπλέκειν  
ἀράχναις, μετὰ δ' ἡσυχίας πολιῶ  
γῆρα ξυνοικίην·  
ἀείδοιμι δὲ στεφάνοις κᾶρα  
πολιὸν στεφανώσας,  
Θρηϊκίαν πέλταν πρὸς Ἀθάναν  
περικίοσιν ἀγκρεμάσας θαλάμοις.<sup>1</sup>

*May my spear idle lie, and spiders spin  
Their webs about it! May I, oh may I, pass  
My hoary age in peace!—  
Then let me chant my melodies, and crown  
My grey hairs with a chaplet!  
And hang my spoils, a Thracian target, high  
Above the columns of MINERVA'S fane!*

The chorus which sang these lines as it danced in the orchestra beneath us, perhaps pointed to this Temple and to these shields from the Theatre, which is below the eastern front of the Parthenon on which they were hung. The Parthenon was the only Temple of Minerva at Athens to which the attribute of a peristyle (περικίονες θαλάμοι) could be ascribed, as here, by Euripides.

Let us here notice one other expression of the same poet, which receives similar illustration from the remaining architectural members of this temple. Agavë, in his <sup>2</sup> Bacchæ, bearing the head of Pentheus, calls, in her fit of phrensy, for Pentheus, in order, as she says,

ὥς πασσαλεύσῃ κράτα τριγλύφοις τόδε  
Λέοντος, ὃν πάρειμι θηράσας ἐγώ.<sup>3</sup>

*That on the triglyphs I may plant  
Here this grim Lion's head, my spoil to-day.*

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. Erechth. ap. Stob. ii. p. 403. Gaisford.  
Eurip. Bacch. 1206.

<sup>3</sup> Vitruv. iii. In cymis capita Leonina sunt scalpenda.



The marble *lion-head* antefixa, which terminate the northern angles of the western pediments of the Parthenon, and are usual ornaments in other parts of such a building, indicate that Euripides has not neglected one of the most pathetic features of madness—its partial saneness and sense of propriety.

With respect to the *name* of the *Parthenon*, it seems to have originated from two causes: first, for the sake of distinction, and next, as recording the peculiar grounds on which this temple was dedicated. The Minerva of *this* temple was to be distinguished from the Minerva Polias her immediate neighbour; and the title of *Parthenos* or Virgin<sup>1</sup> was assigned to the Minerva who occupied *this* temple, in order to designate her invincibility, an attribute which this temple was designed to declare. Hence its limited portion in which the statue of Minerva Parthenos, executed in gold and ivory by Phidias, was enshrined, was more especially termed the *Parthenon*, as being the more intimate abode of her presence. As such this adytum or lesser Parthenon is contrasted with the<sup>2</sup> Hecatompodon, which is properly the eastern division of the cella of the temple, and of which this

<sup>1</sup> When the Parthenon was converted into a Christian Church, as it appears to have been, in the fifth or sixth century, it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. It was changed into a mosque by the Turks who conquered Athens in June, 1456.

<sup>2</sup> Boeck. Inscr. p. 177. Hence the whole temple was sometimes called Παρθενῶν ἐκατόμπεδος. Plutarch v. Cat. ii. p. 555. Pericl. i. p. 619. and the remarkable passage de Glor. Athen. vii. p. 377. where he is summing up the splendid results of Athenian conquests, which are ὅλαι πόλεις, καὶ νῆσοι, καὶ ἡπειροὶ καὶ νηχοτάλαντοι, καὶ λάφυρα, ὧν ἀγάλματα καὶ σύμβολα, παρθενῶνες ἐκατόμπεδοι, νότια τεῖχη, νεώσοικοι, Προπύλαια. Let me take this opportunity of suggesting ἡπειροὶ καναχοτάλαντοι in lieu of the unintelligible words in the text. χρυσοῦ καναχή is an expression well known from Soph. Antig. 130. whence ἡπειρος καναχοτάλαντος would be a country, 'auro quæ plurima fluxit.' See Blomf. Gloss. Choeph. 146, and Apollon. Argonaut. iii. 71.



lesser Parthenon is only a part; just as the Hecatompedon is contrasted with the whole temple or Parthenon, of which it is a part likewise. Hence also, the Opisthodomus or western division of the cella, in which division the treasure of the city was kept, is described as being behind the goddess herself (ὀπίσω τῆς θεοῦ) because it was immediately behind her statue. There was, no doubt, design in this arrangement. For thus the Athenian goddess stood as a sentinel at the door of the Athenian Treasury. The external columns of the posticum were united by a bronze railing.

The question has been asked, whether the Parthenon was *hypæthral*, or open to the air? This is an architectural point on which professional judges must decide.<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no doubt that the *peristyle* was covered with a marble roof; and it would seem that the beautiful objects which it contained would be thought to be entitled to more light than could be admitted by the door, without, however, being exposed to the rain. We may offer as a conjecture, that the *cella* was not roofed but protected by an extended awning or velarium, worked with embroidery. This supposition is suggested by a passage in the *Ion* of Euripides<sup>2</sup> which alludes to the structure of the Parthenon. In the building there erected, which is a copy of the Parthenon, we have this provision made for the *roof*,

λαβὼν ὑφάσμαθ' ἱερὰ θησαυρῶν πάρα  
κατέσκιαζε, θαύματ' ἀνθρώποις ὄραν  
ἐνῆν δ' ὑφανταὶ γράμμασιν τοιαῖδ' ὑφαί.

*He brought the hangings from the Temple's Store,  
And spread them over-head, a wondrous sight,  
In which were woven these embroideries.*

<sup>1</sup> See the works of Hermann, Ross, and Bötticher on this subject, quoted in a valuable article in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, i. p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> V. 1143.

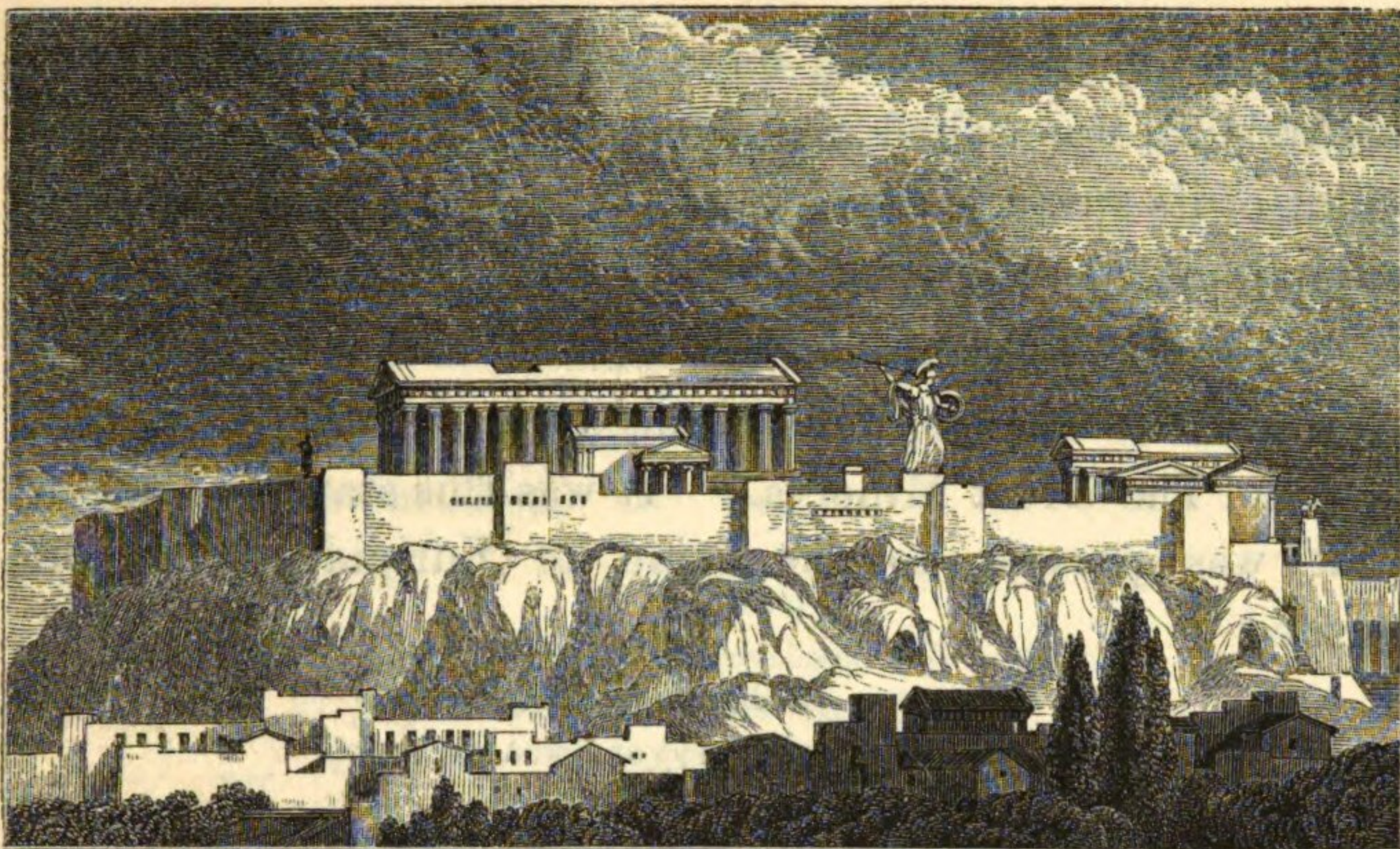


The site of the Parthenon is the highest point of the city. It is also the centre of the Acropolis, as the Acropolis was of Athens. Looking northward from it, the city, and beyond it, the plain of Athens formed into a great peninsula by mountains, lay before the view of the ancient Athenians. The eye having been sated with the splendour of the objects in the city below it, might raise itself gradually, and passing northward over corn-fields and vineyards, farms and villages, such as Colonus or Acharnæ, might repose upon some object lurking in the distant hills, upon the dark pass of Phylë, or the solitary towers of Deceleia. Then too were appropriate living objects to enliven such a scene. There would be rural sights, such as Aristophanes describes, of husbandmen issuing forth from their homesteads with their wains and cattle into the fields, with their implements of agriculture shining in the sun, at the conclusion of a long war: <sup>1</sup> perhaps a festal procession might just be vanishing in a distant sacred grove. All this has disappeared, and now from this point, here and there a solitary Albanian peasant is seen following his mule laden with wood along the road into the town; and the most cheerful sight in the plain before us, is that of the thick wood of olives still growing on the site of the Academy toward the left, and looking like a silver sea rippling in the autumnal breeze.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As in the Peace of Aristophanes, 555.

<sup>2</sup> The prospect (ἄποψις) which the Parthenon commands, has called forth much admiration. Aristides well describes this view, especially the *πεδίων κάλλη καὶ χάριτας πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κεχυμένων*. It will serve to restore the right reading to Dicæarchus, Ἰαθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πολυτελὲς, ἀπόβιον, ἄξιον θέας, ὁ καλούμενος Παρθενῶν, ὑπερκείμενος τοῦ θεάτρου. The corrupt word ἀπόβιον should probably be ἀπόψιον. Marx in Creutzer Meletem. proposes κατόψιον.





North view of the Acropolis restored.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### ATHENS.

#### *The three Minervas of the Acropolis.*



Diva triformis.

HOR.

WE pass a little to the northward from the Temple of Minerva Parthenos to that of MINERVA POLIAS.

For the sake of distinctness with respect to this important point of Athenian antiquities, a few words may be said here on the *three* different Minervas of the Acropolis.<sup>1</sup>

The 1st which the spectator saw when he entered the citadel from the Propylæa, was the colossal Minerva of bronze,<sup>2</sup> standing erect, with helmet, spear and shield. This

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristid. p. 320. Dindorf. τρία ἦσαν ἀγάλματα ἐν Ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐν μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ διοπετὲς, ἕτερον τὸ χαλκοῦν, ὃ ἔθεσαν μετὰ τὰ Περσικὰ, τρίτον τὸ Φειδίου, τὸ ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος κατεσκευασμένον.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. 428. 15. ἡ χαλκῇ, ἡ μεγάλη Ἀθηνᾶ.



was a work of Phidias; on account of its position and attitude it was called the Minerva Promachus; and the point of its spear, and the crest of its helmet, seen over the summit of the Parthenon, were visible to the sailor as he approached the Peiræus from Sunium.

This Minerva was emphatically termed "The Minerva of Bronze, The Great Minerva." It was this statue, I believe, that was present to the mind of Euripides when he wrote <sup>1</sup>

ἀλλ' ἦλθεν, . . . εἰκὼν ὥς ὄραν ἐφαίνετο,  
Παλλὰς, κραδαίνουσ' ἔγχος ὑπολόφῳ κάρῃ.

*Then issued forth, appearing like a Statue,  
Pallas, a spear she shook, with crested helm.*

It was this Minerva whose gigantic form, seen in a vision, stalking before the walls of the citadel, terrified Alaric when he came to sack the Acropolis.<sup>2</sup>

The 2nd Minerva was *chryselephantine*, *i. e.* of ivory and gold, the Minerva of the Parthenon; it was also the work of Phidias, and was a specimen of what was termed the *toreutic*, as the other was of his plastic art.

The artist of the 3rd Minerva was unknown or concealed; inquirers were informed that it had fallen down from heaven: it was not of metal, nor of marble, nor of ivory, but of olive wood. This third Minerva was the Minerva *Polias*; the original Minerva of Athens; the Minerva who, it was said, had contested the soil of Attica with Neptune, and had triumphed in the contest; the Minerva of the Acropolis, and of the temple before us.

Inferior to the other two in material and in beauty of execution, this Minerva was more revered than either. Hers was emphatically the <sup>3</sup> *ancient* statue; to her, and *not*

Herc. Fur. 1002.

<sup>2</sup> Zosimus, v. p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> This appellation had, in the time of Æschylus, acquired the character



to the Minerva of the *Parthenon*, the Panathenaic peplos—the embroidered fasti of Athenian glory—was periodically dedicated. Hence the question which is put by Aristophanes in the Comedy of the Birds, into the mouth of the founder of the aerial city, in the description of which the principal objects of Athenian topography, and even of Athenian Religion, are parodied,

ΕΥ.

τίς θεός

Πολιούχος ἔσται; τῷ ξανοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον;

ΠΕΙ.

Τί δ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίαν ἐῶμεν Πολιάδα;<sup>1</sup>

ΕΥ.

*What Deity shall be**Our Poliuchus? for whom weave our Peplos?*ΠΕΙ. *And wherefore not allow Athena Polias?*

This Peplos was *not* a veil (παραπέτασμα) suspended before the statue in the temple, but the drapery in which the statue was invested.

To this custom of draping the statue with the Peplos Euripides seems to allude,<sup>2</sup>

γέγηθε κόσμον προστιθεὶς ἀγάλματι  
καλὸν κακίστῳ, καὶ πέπλοισιν ἐκπονεῖ.

*Glad, though he hangs a fair robe on a rude  
Statue, and with a PEPLOS tricks it out.*

The obscure epithet by which Æschylus describes an attitude of Minerva may perhaps be best explained by a reference to this treatment of this particular statue. In the

of a proper name: it did not require to be distinguished by the definitive article. See Eumen. 80, where Minerva says to Orestes,

ἴζου παλαιὸν ἄγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας.

<sup>1</sup> Arist. Av. 826. where Schol. τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ Πολιάδι οὔση πέπλος ἐγένετο παμποίκιλος, ὃν ἀνέφερον ἐν τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Παναθηναίων. . . . Cp. Müller de Minervæ Poliadis Templo, Rose, Inscr. Græc. pp. 148, 157.

<sup>2</sup> Hyppolyt. 630. Cp. the passages in Turneb. Advers. xiv. 15.



Eumenides, <sup>1</sup> Orestes is introduced by the poet as a suppliant in this Temple of Minerva Polias; and clasping the knees of this same statue. He then invokes the goddess to come to his aid,

... εἴτε χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικοῖς  
τίθησιν ὀρθὸν ἢ κατηρεφῇ πόδα  
φίλοις ἀρήγουσ'...

*Whether on the Libyan plain  
She plants her foot outstretched or shrouded over,  
Fighting for friends.*

That is, whether she is advancing to the conflict, or is standing firm to repel the shock of the enemy.

Some well-known Athenian statue of Minerva was probably in the mind of Æschylus. The fact that the *drapery* of a statue supplies him with a distinctive epithet (*κατηρεφής*) seems to indicate that *that* drapery was a characteristic attribute of the statue. Such an attribute the Peplos,<sup>2</sup> in which the Minerva Polias was attired, eminently was. Hence I am inclined to think the poet here alludes to the statue of Minerva Polias. The other two celebrated statues of Minerva were not then in existence.

The difference of these three statues of Minerva in the Acropolis is illustrated by a passage in the Knights of

<sup>1</sup> Æsch. Eumen. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Hym. Cerer. 182. ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλος κυάνεος ῥαδινοῖσι θεῆς ἐλελίζετο ποσσίν. Cp. Buttmann, Lexilog. v. εἰνός and Müller Denkmäler Heft. i. p. 5. Hence κατηρεφῇ πόδα in Æschylus. The statue of Polias seems to have been erect, (Aristoph. Aves, 827. πανοπλίαν ἔστηκ' ἔχουσα) and the drapery of the Peplos to have fallen in full folds over the feet, thus covered *over*, (κατηρεφεῖς) as in that of the Æginetan Minerva (Hirt. Wolf. Analek. iii. p. 170.) There is, I think, in the Dresden Museum a Statue of Minerva which appears to be a representation of that of the Polias draped with the Peplos. The ὀρθὸς ποῦς, on the contrary, seems to indicate the attitude in which the foot is not in repose, but projected with some exertion, (see this use of ὀρθός, Elmsl. Med. 1134. Dissen. Pind. Ol. xi. 4.) as in combat, which is the attitude of the Itonian Pallas. Millingen. Uned. Mon. ii. p. 9. and of that in the Athenian Vase.



Aristophanes,<sup>1</sup> which can only be understood by a reference to the peculiar attitude, position and character, as above specified, of each; and which shew that the national faith had then nearly lost its hold on the national mind.

The two rival demagogues are boasting to Demos of the gratifications which they will respectively supply to please his popular palate, gratifications which they owe to their influence with the three Minervas of the Acropolis;

## ΚΛΕΩΝ.

ἰδοὺ φέρω σοι τήνδε μαζίσκην ἐγώ.

## ἌΛΛΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ.

ἐγὼ δὲ μυστίλας μεμιστυλημένας  
ὑπὸ τῆς <sup>2</sup>θεοῦ τῇ χειρὶ τῇ ἑλεφαντίνῃ.

## ΔΗΜΟΣ.

ὥς μέγαν ἄρ' εἶχες ὦ πότνια τὸν δάκτυλον.

## ΚΛΕΩΝ.

ἐγὼ δ' ἔτνος γε πίσινον εὐχρων καὶ καλόν·  
<sup>3</sup> ἐτόρυνε δ' αὖθ' ἡ Παλλὰς ἡ Πυλαιμάχος.

<sup>1</sup> Equites, 1165.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. The Chryselephantine Statue by Phidias, in the *Parthenon*. See the proposed restoration of this Minerva in Quatremère de Quincy's *Jupiter Olympius*, p. 226. The face, feet, and hands alone of this statue were of ivory. Plat. Hipp. maj. 290. b.

<sup>3</sup> i. e. The Bronze Colossal Statue, also by Phidias, of Minerva *Promachus* standing near the Propylæa (Πυλαιμάχος) on the north-east. The shield and spear, with which she was armed, are here ludicrously converted into a χύτρα and τορύνη (as χύτρα and ὀβέλισκος for a shield and spear in Aristoph. *Aves*, 388). Her gigantic form is described by ὑπερέχει.

It will, I think, be found that, when accuracy of distinction is required, the Athenian writers of the best age do not give to Minerva Polias the epithet of *Pallas*, but reserve it for the other two, especially for this statue of *Promachus*. On the statues of Minerva, see Athenagoras Legat. pro Christianis, p. 293, ed. Benedict., *note*.



## 'ΑΛΛΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ.

ὦ Δῆμ', ἐναργῶς ἡ Θεός σ' ἐπισκοπεῖ,  
καὶ νῦν ὑπερέχει σου χύτραν ζωμοῦ πλέαν.

## ΚΛΕΩΝ.

τουτὶ τέμαχος σοῦδωκεν ἡ φοβεμιστράτη.

## 'ΑΛΛΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΗΣ.

ἡ δ' ὀβριμοπάτρα γ' ἐφθον ἐκ ζωμοῦ κρέας,  
καὶ χόλικος ἡνύστρου τε καὶ γαστρὸς τόμον.

## ΔΗΜΟΣ.

καλῶς γ' ἐποίησε τοῦ πέπλου μεμνημένη.<sup>1</sup>

## CLEON.

*See! this fair barley-cake I bring you, I.*

## SAUSAGE-SELLER.

*And I this loaf scoop'd out into a spoon  
By our own Goddess, with her ivory hand.*

## DEMOS.

*Well, to be sure, she has a monstrous finger!*

## CLEON.

*And I peas-porridge well-complexion'd, rich,  
Pounded by Pallas the Pylæmachus.*

## SAUSAGE-SELLER.

*O Demos, clear it is our Goddess guards thee—  
She wields a bowl above thee, filled with soup!*

## CLEON.

*This morsel, Pallas, dread of armies, sends thee—*

<sup>1</sup> i. e. The Minerva Polias : the next line is a convincing proof that the Peplos was dedicated to her, and not to any other Minerva.

By way of a supplementary remark connected with this topic, we may notice the small images of Pallas (Παλλάδια) worn about the person, περιφερόμενα, as amulets. (See Millingen, U. M. ii. p. 13, and p. 73.) The Scholiast on Aristides, p. 320 (Dindorf) after distinguishing these three Minervas of the Acropolis, adds, λέγοι δ' ἂν τις περὶ ἄλλων Παλλάδιων, τοῦ τε κατ' Ἀλαλκόμενον ἥρωα τὸν αὐτόχθονα (from Müller's certain correction, Eumenid. p. 106.) καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτεφυρῶν λεγομένων. For περὶ αὐτεφυρῶν ought we not to read περιαιτοφόρων, i. e. portable statuettes of Minerva? Παλλάδια περιαιτόφορα are, ἃ τις ἂν φέροι περὶ ἑαυτόν, which both Ulysses and Diomed do, in the vase illustrated by Millingen. Cp. Müller's Denkmäler, Tab. i. 5, 6, 7.



## SAUSAGE-SELLER.

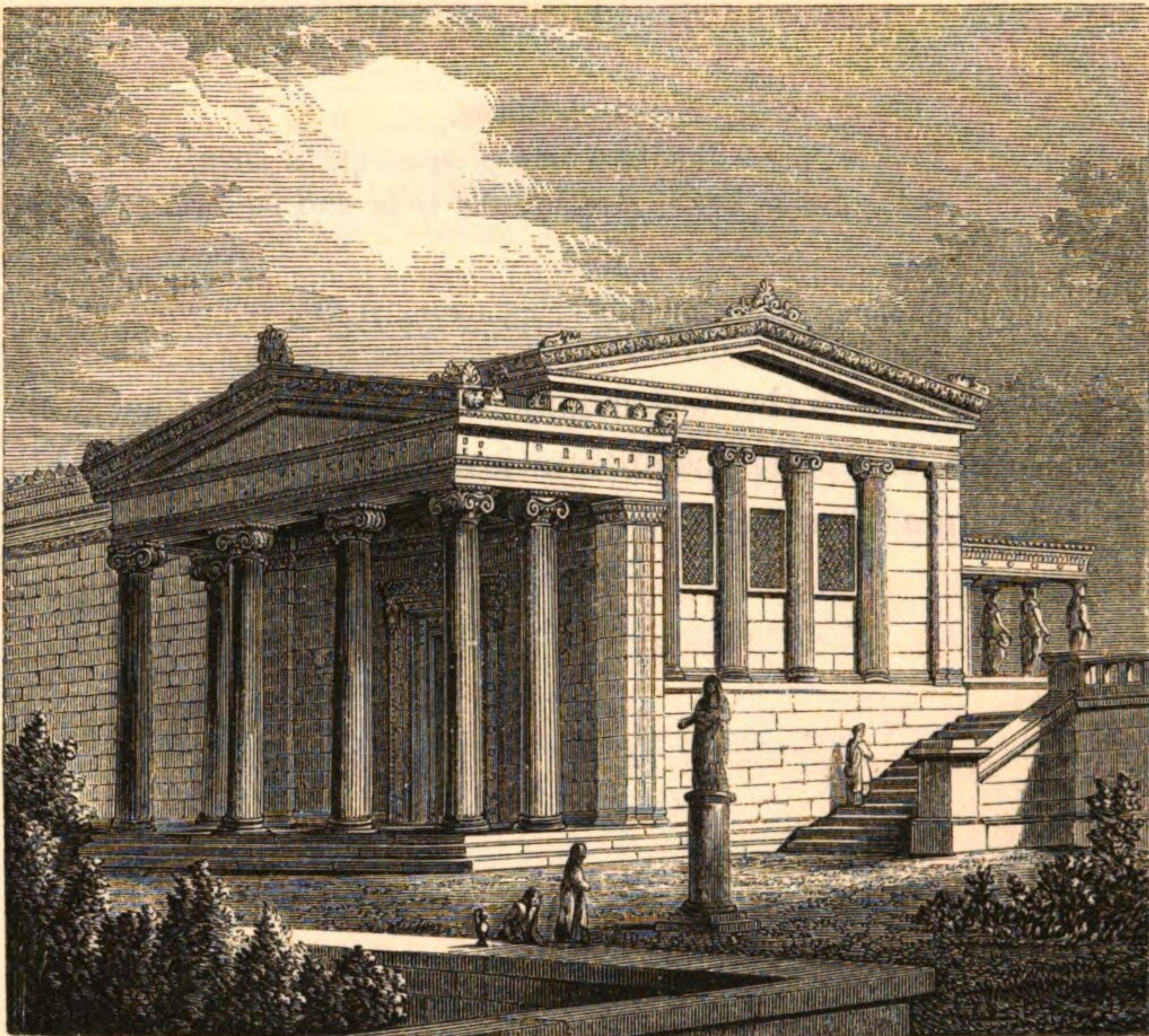
*To thee Jove's daughter here presents boil'd meat,  
Reeking with broth, stomach and tripe and paunch.*

## DEMOS.

*Sooth, she does well not to forget the Peplos.*

This passage is the best commentary upon this remarkable feature in the religious antiquities of Athens, the worship of the triple Minerva.





The Erechtheum restored. View from the North-west angle.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### ATHENS—THE ACROPOLIS.

#### *The Erechtheum——Inscriptions.*



“Ἰκετο δ’ ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρύαγιον Ἀθήνην,  
Δῦνε δ’ Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον.

HOM. *Odyss.* VII. 80.

*Erechthei Athenis delubrum vidimus.*

CICER. *Nat. D.* III. 19.

OF the Temple of MINERVA POLIAS<sup>1</sup> now before us, a general idea may be formed by conceiving a cella, about

<sup>1</sup> See the Plan in the map of Athens, above, chap. vii. The Erechtheum has been very minutely described by M. Tetaz in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1851.



ninety feet long, standing from east to west, intersected at its west end by an irregular transept; and at each of the three extremities thus formed, a portico. The southern portico was not, like the northern and eastern, supported by Ionic columns, but by Caryatides. The interior of the nave has been intersected by two marble partitions parallel to the east end; and was thus divided into three separate compartments or chambers, of which the eastern was the narrowest. The question hence arises, how these chambers were occupied, and to what deities were they respectively dedicated.

The arguments which may be used to determine this question are these. The sacred olive-tree which Minerva was said to have produced from the earth in her contest with Neptune for the soil of Attica, is known to have grown in the ERECHTHEUM, which is *a general term applied to this temple*. The same tree is placed by some writers in the Temple of Pandrosus. Now the Erechtheum was a fabric with *two*<sup>1</sup> chambers: hence, *one* of these chambers was the temple of Pandrosus. Again, the shrine peculiarly dedicated to Minerva Polias was<sup>2</sup> attached to the shrine of Pandrosus; hence the *other* of these chambers of the Erechtheum was the shrine of Minerva Polias. Also, because the more western of these two chambers may be shown<sup>3</sup> to be the Temple of Pandrosus, the eastern is that of Minerva Polias. Thus the same observation applies to this temple which was made

<sup>1</sup> διπλοῦν οἶκημα. Pausan. i. 26, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan, i. 27, 2. τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχῆς ἐστίν.

<sup>3</sup> In Philochor. Atthid. Siebel. p. 2, a dog is described as entering the shrine of Polias, and thence *penetrating* (δύσα) into that of Pandrosus: (hence the shrine of Pandrosus was the *interior* chamber, i. e. the *western* of the two, and the *central* of the three), in which was the sacred olive, and beneath it the altar of Ζεὺς ἑρκείος. This altar was properly placed



with respect to the Parthenon. The whole building was called the temple of Minerva Polias, generally: this eastern chamber bore the same name, particularly. The most western or third chamber, (if indeed there was originally a third chamber, and the wall by which it is now separated from the Pandroseum, be not of comparatively recent erection,) served, it would seem, only as a <sup>1</sup> corridor of communication between the northern and southern porticoes.

Another part of this fabric the object of which may be enquired, is the space enclosed by the beautiful Caryatid portico on the southern side. It may, perhaps, be inferred from the language of the Athenian <sup>2</sup> inscription found in the Acropolis, which exhibits the report of the architectural commissioners appointed in the year before Christ 409, to examine what was then defective in the Erechtheum, or requisite for its completion, that this southern portico was the place in which Cecrops was believed to have been interred, and thence called the <sup>3</sup> Cecropium.

in the *centre* of the whole building, as of a public αὐλή. The words of Virgil,

Ædibus in *mediis*, nudoque sub ætheris axe  
Ingens ara fuit, juxtaque veterrima *laurus*  
*Incumbens* aræ atque umbrâ complexa Penates,

may have a reference to this spot and its features. The triple division of the Erechtheum might have suggested Ovid's description (Metam. ii. 737.) of the chambers of the daughters of Cecrops:—

Tres habuit thalamos, quorum tu Pandrose dextrum,  
Aglauros lævum, medium possederat Herse.

<sup>1</sup> It could not be part of the Cecropium, for its western exterior wall is described in the inscription cited below as πρὸς τοῦ Πανδροσείου, (not τῷ Πανδροσείῳ), nor could it be the Pandroseum, for that was συνεχὲς to the shrine of Polias: it was a neutral ground, without any other specific name than στοὰ, by which it seems to be described in the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> Boeck. C. I. 261. Wilkins Atheniensia, p. 195. Rose, Inscr. p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> On this ground: the Κόραι (so the Caryatides are termed in the



It would require a much longer inscription than that just alluded to, to specify in minute detail what is now defective or dilapidated in this edifice. A general statement may suffice. Of the eastern hexastyle portico five columns are still standing: but the south wall of the cella is almost entirely destroyed. In the Caryatid portico one of the four marble beams of the roof has fallen; three only of the six Caryatides remain; there survive but two of the four *engaged* columns in the western wall: the north wall of the cella and three of the columns in the north hexastyle portico with the roof over these last columns, are yet entire: the rest of the roof of this graceful portico has fallen. It fell during the siege of Athens, in 1827. Since this was written, this portico has been restored by M. Piscatory, in 1846, then French ambassador in Greece.

There were four objects of great interest, connected with the early history of Athens, contained in this temple. In its eastern chamber was "the ancient statue," above mentioned, of Minerva Polias. In the chamber of Pandrosus was the Spring of salt water which, in the presence of Cecrops, Neptune had fetched with his Trident from the rock, to support his claim to the property of the Athenian soil: here also was the impression of the <sup>1</sup>trident, the

inscription), are described there as standing ἐν τῇ προστάσει (portico) τῇ πρὸς τῷ Κεκροπίῳ, whereas the northern portico is described as πρὸς τοῦ θυρώματος. In the former, the *dative* case signifies that the *Caryatid* portico was a part of, and attached to the Cecropium: while in the latter, the *genitive* indicates that the *northern* portico was only in the direction of or *towards* the portal.

<sup>1</sup> Æschylus (Suppl. 218.) seems to draw his picture from this object in the Athenian citadel, when he says of an Argive Temple,

ὄρῳ τρίαῖναν τήνδε, σημεῖον θεοῦ.

Hegesias (in Strabo p. 396.) applies this identical expression to the trident in the Erechtheum. ὄρῳ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς τριαίνης ἔχει



symbol of the god of the sea, stamped upon the rock. And lastly, here, probably, in the centre of the whole building and near an altar of the Hercean Jove, grew the <sup>1</sup> sacred Olive-tree of Minerva, which she had produced from the earth, a pledge of peace and plenty by land, as the emblem of Neptune was of dominion by sea.

The Olive of Minerva and the Trident of Neptune were symbols of two rival powers. They were understood to be such, as is proved by a remarkable passage of Euripides,<sup>2</sup> which is to be explained from the consideration that these two symbols were distinguished alike for their contrast and proximity. They were both contained in the same chamber of this temple.

In that passage, Praxithea, the daughter of Cephisus and wife of Erechtheus, confirms her intention, in obedience to the oracle, to devote her daughter to death in behalf of the glory and the religion of her country, which was then menaced by an invasion of Thracians under Eumolpus the reputed son of Neptune,

οὐκ ἔσθ', ἐκούσης τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς, ἄνερ,  
προγόνων παλαιὰ θέσμι' ὅστις ἐκβαλεῖ,  
οὐδ' ἀντ' ἐλάας χρυσέας τε Γοργόνος  
τρίαιναν ὀρθὴν σταῖσαν ἐν πόλεως βάθροις  
Εὐμόλπος οὐδὲ Θρηξ ἀναστέψει λεῶς  
στεφάνοισι, Παλλὰς δ' οὐδαμοῦ τιμήσεται.

τι σημεῖον, where for ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ perhaps we may read ΠΕΡΙΤΤΗΣ, *i. e.* vast, huge, as Virgil ii. 610, "Neptunus muros *magnoque* emota *tridenti* Fundamenta quatit." "It has a certain mark, that of the huge Trident."

The position of the salt-well, and the marks shown as the impression of the Trident, are said to have been discovered by M. Tetaz, in 1846, in the northern portico, which served as an entrance to the Pandrosæum.

<sup>1</sup> See Bentley, Hor. Od. i. 7, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Frag. Eur. Erechth. ap. Lycurg. p. 161. 24. p. 264. Bekker. See Dobree Aristophanic. p. 76, who from a reference to the locality of these objects, has very happily restored this passage, once deemed irremediably corrupt.



*Nay but, my husband, ne'er with my consent  
 Shall man uproot our country's ancient laws,  
 Nor shall Eumolpus and his Thracian crew,  
 In the OLIVE'S and the golden Gorgon's stead,  
 With garlands crown the TRIDENT, placed erect  
 In the Citadel; and Pallas be dishonoured.*

These lines will appear still more descriptive when we consider that a <sup>1</sup> colossal statue of *Eumolpus* stood in front of this temple; that there was a statue also close to it of *Erechtheus*, in whose reign this Thracian invasion took place; that *Erechtheus* was said to have been killed by a stroke of the trident there mentioned, of which the impression was shown within the temple, and that he was believed to have been buried within this same temple; from which circumstance it derived its general name, *ERECHTHEUM*.

The *Erechtheum* had not merely a religious, it had also a moral character. It served, as it were, to mediate between the two rival deities *Athena* and *Poseidon*, to reconcile them to each other, and to endear Athens to both. The Athenian hero *Erechtheus*, the mortal Genius of the Temple, while associated here as her foster-child with <sup>2</sup> *Athena*, bore also the title of *Poseidon*.

The olive-tree of *Minerva* was preserved in this sacred edifice for a wise political purpose: that by this means a civil ordinance might be strengthened by a religious sanction. The olives of the Athenian soil were its most valuable produce.<sup>3</sup> Their cultivation was therefore encouraged by laws, which threatened the infliction of severe penalties on those who damaged them. This legal provision was confirmed by the powerful influence of a studiously inculcated

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 27, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. v. 82. Inscr. Anthol. ii. p. 773.

Hesych. 'Ερεχθεύς· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις. . .

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Herodot. v. 8.



belief that the olives of Attica had been propagated from the <sup>1</sup> Morian olives of Colonus and the neighbouring Academy, which in their turn had sprung from the single stock of the sacred Olive that grew in the central chamber of this temple; and that this stock had been originally produced from the soil of the Acropolis by the divine agency of the Athenian goddess. All the Athenian olives were thus conceived to be the offspring of one sacred parent, created by Minerva; the sanctity of the parent served to protect its offspring. Of the parent's sanctity, proofs, even historical, were offered, and as willingly accepted by the Athenians. This original olive-tree was burnt to the ground by the Persians when they took the Acropolis; its site was subsequently visited on the same day; and the tree was found to have shot forth fresh sprouts two cubits <sup>2</sup> in height, an emblem of the imperishableness of the city protected by divine power.

This olive has rendered much service to poets of Athens. It enabled them to connect every part of Attica, in which the olive flourished, with the central splendours of the Acropolis. Every olive in Attica might be considered as an off-shoot of this sacred stem; and the branches and stem together might be regarded as one great tree of which the root grew in the consecrated Acropolis, while the arms shot

<sup>1</sup> Ister. ap. Schol. Œd. Col. 701. Some fanciful etymologies of the term *Mopía* have been assigned (Schol. Nub. 1002). The word may perhaps contain an allusion to this their supposed origin: it may be an expression of this propagation or *partition* of these olives from the one stock in the Erechtheum. *Mopía ἐλαία* is *olea partitiva*. The word itself (from *μείρω*, *μόρος*, &c.) still survives in its compound *συμμορία*, a *class*.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. viii. 55. *δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ . . ὅσον πηχυαῖον*, but Pausan. i. 26, 7. *αὐθήμερον . . ἐπὶ δύο πήχεις*. Thus in the interval of time between these two writers, in order that the miracle might become more marvellous, the days and cubits changed their respective numbers.



themselves over the hills and plains, and covered the country with their shade.

The chorus of Sophocles sings at Colonus the praises of Attica.<sup>1</sup> In the treatment of such a subject some notice of the Athenian citadel was very appropriate, and almost necessary. The olives of Colonus were descended from the twelve offsets of the Erechthean tree. By means of this connection the chorus passes, as by a natural transition, from Colonus to the <sup>2</sup>Acropolis, and to the shade of the sacred tree which grew in this temple.<sup>3</sup> Hence the allusion which they subsequently make in the same ode to the Athenian dominion of the sea, became easy and natural: for close to the sacred olive was seen the fountain which had been raised there by the deity of the sea.<sup>4</sup> It required therefore but a single step to pass from the praises of the Olive to celebrate the empire of the Ocean. The Athenian Acropolis was a sharer in both.

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BEFORE quitting the Acropolis, we may copy the following ancient inscriptions.

In the tower at the southern wing of the Propylæa is this <sup>5</sup>poetical fragment. It is inscribed on what was the base of an honorary statue:

<sup>1</sup> Œd. Col. 667.

<sup>2</sup> That they have passed to Athens from Colonus appears from v. 708. τᾷδε ματροπόλει.

<sup>3</sup> Which they call ἀχείρωτον αὐτοποιόν, παιδοτρόφον: the former epithets in allusion to its regermination after the Persian invasion: the last to its general propagation.

<sup>4</sup> θάλασσα, Herod. viii. 55. hence εὐθάλασσον, Œd. Col. v. 711. κύμα τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει. Pausan. viii. 20. 4. Even Virgil seems to have caught the inspiration, in Georgic. i. 12: "Tuque o cui prima frementem," &c., and 18, "oleæque Minerva Inventrix." The salt spring was transfigured into a horse by a natural effort of imagination aided by affinities of language, ἵππος, equus, aqua, πηγὴ, Pegasus.

<sup>5</sup> See Boeck. C. I. p. 481.



Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ  
 ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΘΟΥΡΙΚΙΟΝ  
 ΟΥΝΕΚΑ ΣΑΣ ΕΔΑΗΣΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΦΡΕΝΟΣ ΑΞΙΑ ΜΟΙΣΑΝ  
 ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΣ ΩΓΥΓΙΩΝ ΥΙΕΣ ΕΡΙΧΘΟΝΙΔΑΝ  
 ΤΟΥΝΕΚΑ ΣΟΙ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ ΕΔΟΣΑΝ ΓΕΡΑΣ ΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΘΑΝΑΙ  
 ΟΙΑΙ ΙΣΑΝ ΤΟΙΩΙΔ ΑΝΔΡΙ ΤΕΚΕΙΝ ΧΑΡΙΤΑ<sup>1</sup>

## THE ATHENIAN PEOPLE

ERECTS THIS STATUE OF SOCRATES, THE SON OF SOCRATES, OF THORICUS.

*The Sons of Athens, Socrates, from Thee  
 Imbib'd the lessons of the Muse divine;  
 Hence this thy Meed of Wisdom: Prompt are We  
 To render grace for grace, our love for thine.*

<sup>1</sup> Nossis Anthol. i. p. 526. χάριτας τίκτεν ἴσας. . .



2. Inserted in the outside of the southern wall to the west of the Theatre is

ΚΕΚΡΟΡΙΣ ΓΑΙΔΩΝ ΕΝΙΚΑ  
ΚΤΗΣΙΓΓΡΟΣΧΑΒΡΙΟΥ ΕΧΟ  
ΡΗΓΕΙ ΔΑ . . . . .

*The Cecropid Tribe gained the prize with  
a Chorus of Boys, of which CTESIPPUS  
the son of CHABRIAS defrayed the expense.*

This small fragment of a marble slab is a curious historical document. It informs us of a fact that cannot be learnt elsewhere, from which we discover the result of one of the most important orations of Demosthenes. His oration against Leptines was composed in behalf of <sup>1</sup> Ctesippus the dissolute son of the wise and valiant Chabrias, who is mentioned in the above inscription; its object was to secure to Ctesippus the immunity from public burdens, which he enjoyed in consequence of the exploits of his father, and of which the law of Leptines threatened to deprive him. Of these public burdens the *χορηγία* was one of the most onerous. This marble presents us with a proof that Ctesippus performed the office of Choragus. Demosthenes therefore, failed in his attempt.<sup>2</sup>

3. Near the descent to the source of the Clepsydra is inscribed on a pedestal:

<sup>1</sup> Concerning whom see Plut. v. Phoc. p. 302. Demosth. p. 717. Athenæus, iv. 165. Wolf. Proleg. Lept. p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Chrysostom indeed (i. p. 635.) asserts that *Leptines was condemned*: (ἐάλω γραφῆς.) But this seems to have been impossible from the nature of the suit. The legal term (προθεσμία) in which Leptines was subject to prosecution, had expired. He was ἀνεύθυνος (see Arg. Dem. Lept. 453. 9.) It is singular that F. A. Wolf should have approved this statement of D. Chrysostom, when he himself observes that the title πρὸς Λεπτίνην, and not κατὰ Λεπτίνου prefixed to the oration “*Leptinem præsentem in judicio signat, non reum factum.*” Proleg. p. 152.



Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ  
ΓΝΑΙΟΝ ΑΚΕΡΡΩΝΙΟΝ  
ΠΡΟΚΛΟΝ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΝ  
ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΚΗΔΕΜΟΝΙΑΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ

*The People erect a Statue to Gnæus Acerronius Proclus,  
Proconsul, on account of his good will and devotion to itself.*

This may be called a *palimpsest* inscription, for below the last line may be discerned the words nearly erased ΠΡΑΞΙΤΕΛΗΣ ΕΓΟΕΙ, proving that a statue sculptured by Praxiteles had been converted into a representation of a Roman Proconsul! To what degradation were Athenians sunk, when they converted, as they did, the equestrian statues of the two <sup>1</sup> Sons of Xenophon, which stood near this spot at the entrance of the citadel, on the same pedestal, into Romans, and changed even <sup>2</sup> Themistocles and Miltiades into a Thracian and Italian conqueror!

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias thus speaks of that change, i. 22, 4. τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν εἴτε οἱ παῖδες εἰσιν οἱ Ξενοφώντος εἴτε ἄλλως εἰς εὐπρέπειαν πεποιημένοι. It has been thought that Pausanias used the above obscure expressions for fear of giving offence: for one of the above statues became an Agrippa; as the inscription on its base still indicates—the other probably an Augustus. But (I conceive) he had another meaning. The statue, be it remembered, remained the same; the inscription alone was altered. The statue was like an actor (see Dio. Chrys. i. 647.) playing successively different parts on the same stage. Hence Pausanias might well say, he could not tell very clearly who the statue really was. If the statue itself was to be believed, it was a son of Xenophon: if the inscription, an Agrippa. By recording this his dilemma, he tacitly censures the folly of the Athenians in thus conferring honorary distinctions, which denoted nothing but the weakness and fickleness of those who conferred them. Pausanias writing under the Antonines, had little to fear from indulging in sarcasm on Agrippa. Pliny satirized Augustus, and dedicated his satire to Trajan. Pausanias too (ii. 18.) says openly enough of a similar statue, τὸν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχοντα ὡς εἴη Αὔγουστος, Ὁρέστην εἶναι λέγουσιν.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. i. 18, 3. Other instances at Athens of the same practice, are



Another statue by Praxiteles, which stood at the gate of Athens, shared the same fate as that which is recorded in the above inscription: other examples were no doubt common. Probably his figures in marble, above all others, owed their alienation to their excellence.

The following is on a pedestal, much defaced: It is the base of a statue erected by relatives to an Athenian Virgin who had performed an honourable office in the sacred processions, here in the Acropolis:

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ  
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ  
ΑΦΙΔΝΑΙΟΣ ΤΗΝ  
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ ΑΝΘΕΜΙΑΝ  
ΚΑΙ Ο ΘΕΙΟΣ ΟΥΛΠΙΑΝΟΣ  
ΚΑΙ Η ΜΗΤΗΡ ΔΙΦΙΛΩΝΗ  
ΚΑΝΗΦΟΡΗΣΑΣΑΝ  
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ  
ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΙΑΣ ΠΕΝΤΕΤΗΡΙΔΟΣ  
ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΦΛΥΕΩΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΚΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ  
ΚΑΙ . . . . . ΕΓΟΗΣΑΝ

*With Good Auspices; Apollonius of Aphidnæ dedicates a Statue of his daughter Anthemia, having been a Canephoros; her uncle Ulpianus and her mother Diphilone dedicate it with him. In the quinquennial priesthood of Hierocles of Phlya, Cæcosthenes, and . . . . sculptured the statue.*

---

recorded in Paus. i. 2. 4. (and Siebelis note.) i. 22. 4. Hence when Phædrus said (Epil. lib. ii.)

Æsopi ingenio statuam posuere Attici,  
Servumque collocarunt æternâ in basi,

he wrote with a significant allusion to the practice of his times in this city: the epithet has been suspected without reason.



I have here supplied the name of *Καικοσθένης* as one of the sculptors of this statue from a fragment of another inscription beneath the N.E. of the citadel, where we read

**ΚΑΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ.**



5. ON THE INSIDE OF THE GATEWAY OF THE EXTERIOR GATE OF THE ACROPOLIS.

|    |                         |                                    |
|----|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1  | ΠΑΡΑΔΙΔΩΜΙ ΤΟΙΣ         | <i>I deliver to the</i>            |
|    | ΚΑΤΑΧΘΟΝΙΟΙΣ ΘΕ         | <i>Infernal Gods</i>               |
|    | ΟΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΗΡΩ        | <i>This Chapel to</i>              |
|    | ΟΝ ΦΥΛΑΣΣΕΙΝ ΠΛΟΥ       | <i>guard; To Pluto</i>             |
| 5  | ΤΩΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ        | <i>and to Demeter</i>              |
|    | ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΣΕΦΟΝΗ           | <i>and Proserpine</i>              |
|    | ΚΑΙ ΕΡΙΝΥΓΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΙ    | <i>and the Furies, and to</i>      |
|    | ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΧΘΟΝΙΟΙΣ       | <i>all the Infernal</i>            |
|    | ΘΕΟΙΣ ΕΙΤΙΣ ΑΠΟΚΟ       | <i>Gods: If any one</i>            |
| 10 | ΣΜΗΓΕΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΗΡΩ     | <i>shall deface this</i>           |
|    | ΟΝ Η ΑΠΟΣΚΟΥΤΛΩΓΕΙ      | <i>Chapel, or mutilate</i>         |
|    | Η ΕΙ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΜΕΤΑ | <i>it, or remove any</i>           |
|    | ΚΕΙΝΗΓΕΙ Η ΑΥΤΟΣ Η      | <i>thing from it, either by</i>    |
|    | ΔΙ ΑΛΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΜΗ   | <i>himself or by any other, To</i> |
| 15 | ΓΗ ΒΑΤΗ ΜΗ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΑ      | <i>That Man may not</i>            |
|    | ΠΛΩΤΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΚΡΕΙ        | <i>Land be passable, nor Sea</i>   |



ΖΩΗΓΕΤΕ ΠΑΝ ΓΕΝΕΙ  
 ΠΑΣΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΚΟΙΣ ΠΕΙ  
 ΡΑΝ ΔΩΓΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΕΙ  
 20 ΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΥΡΕΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΕ  
 ΤΑΡΤΑΙΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΦΑΝΤ  
 ΙΑΣΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΑ ΚΑΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑ  
 ΘΗ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΙ ΓΙ  
 ΓΝΕΤΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΓΙΓΝΕΣ  
 25 ΘΩ ΤΩ ΤΟΛΜΗΣΑΝΤΙ  
 ΕΚ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΩ  
 ΟΥ ΜΕΤΑΚΕΙΝΗΣΑΙ ΤΙ

*navigable! He shall  
 be extirpated utterly, he shall  
 make trial of all evils, of Ague  
 20 and Fever, and quartan  
 Ague, and Leprosy:  
 and as many other ills  
 and sufferings as befall  
 Man, may they befall  
 25 that man who dareth to  
 move aught from  
 this Chapel.<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Compare the inscriptions of a similar purport in Boeck. p. 531, 542. See also p. 919, where a transcript is offered of this inscription. In v. 11. ἀποσκουτλώσει is connected with σκούλαι; κνήσαι in Hesychius. In v. 17. ἐκρείζωθήσεται is for ἐκρείζωθήσεται, by the common confusion of ει for ι, and of ε for αι.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### ATHENS.

#### *Temple of Theseus.*

Ὅρωμεν ὡς τὸν Παρθενῶνα, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Θησεῖον ἅπαντας  
προσκυνοῦντας.

PLUTARCH *de Exsil.* 607, 8.

*We see every one admires the Temple of Theseus as well as the Parthenon.*

THE Church of St. Mark at Venice and the TEMPLE of THESEUS at Athens have some points of resemblance. They are both Temples and Tombs ; in both cases, the venerated ashes interred within them came from a distant region. The relics of Theseus, real or supposed, were brought by Cimon<sup>1</sup> from the isle of Skyros to the Peiræus (B.C. 469); those of St. Mark to the quay of Venice from Alexandria. The latter were hailed on their arrival with the pageantry of a Venetian Carnival ; the obsequies of Theseus were solemnised with a dramatic contest of Æschylus and Sophocles. The Hero and the Saint placed in their splendid mausoleums, each in his respective city, were revered as the guardians of those two Republics of the Sea. And now we have another

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. v. Cimon. iii. p. 189. Reiske, and vet. Thes. p. 74, where this Temple is described as being ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει παρὰ τὸ νῦν γυμνάσιον (where the term ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει refers to its equidistance from the north and south of the city) ἐστὶ δὲ φύξιον οἰκέταις, which latter circumstance calls to mind the propriety of ἡ 'πὶ θησεῖον πλεύσας in Aristophanes.



parallel, in the translation of the ashes of Napoleon from the island of St. Helena to a tomb and fane under the dome of the "Invalides," in the capital of France.

Theseus did not enjoy alone the honours of his own temple. He admitted his "kinsman Hercules," (as Shakspeare calls him) the friend and companion of his earthly toils, to a share in his posthumous glory. He even ceded to him, in the refined spirit of Athenian delicacy, the most honourable place in that fabric. On the *eastern* façade of this temple, the ten metopes are occupied with the <sup>1</sup>labours of Hercules, while only four, and those on the sides only, refer to the deeds of Theseus. The same disinterestedness is shown in the selection of the subjects of the two friezes of the pronaos and posticum of the cella. Here, as before, Theseus has yielded to Hercules the most conspicuous spot at the entrance of his own temple.

This association of Hercules with the Athenian hero has been well illustrated by reference to a parallel instance in a different department of art. What is done here by sculpture and architecture, Euripides has performed in poetry. He has blended together in the same spirit the deeds and glory of these two heroes and <sup>2</sup>friends. The Hercules Furens of Euripides may almost be called a Temple of Theseus in verse.

The treatment of the same subject in the temple and the tragedy was probably the result of the same state of national

<sup>1</sup> It has been hence argued, that at the time of the erection of the Theseum, the *labours of Hercules* were not *twelve* but *ten*. This might have been a just inference had it been possible to have introduced *twelve* metopes on the frieze of a hexastyle portico, such as that of this temple.

<sup>2</sup> Herc. fur. 1323. Theseus addresses Hercules just dying :

ἔπου δ' ἄμ' ἡμῖν πρὸς πόλισμα Παλλάδος,  
δόμους τε δώσω, χρημάτων τ' ἐμῶν μέρος.



feeling between the two Grecian states, of which these two heroes were regarded as the respective representatives. The union of the Athenian Theseus with the Theban Hercules was probably thus *expressed*, at a time when Athens and Thebes were united by a bond of national amity: and when the former State believed it to be expedient that this union should be permanent.

We have here a proof that the mythology of Athens exercised a great influence on its policy, and its policy on its mythology, and on its dramatic poetry; and in an appeal made in a formal state or decree, probably composed by Demosthenes,<sup>1</sup> particular reference is made to the mutual good offices of Thebes and Athens in heroic times.

This Temple therefore possesses an interest, not only from the beauty of its structure, but as a consecration of heroic friendship, and an expression of political attachment.

For my companions and myself personally it has, and long will have, a peculiar interest, which I cannot forbear recording with a feeling of gratitude. We have now lodged near it,—almost beneath its shade,—for more than two months.

Such is the integrity of its structure, and the distinctness of its details, that it requires no description beyond that which a few glances might supply. Its solid yet graceful form is indeed admirable; and in certain states of the atmosphere, the loveliness of its colouring is such, that, from the rich mellow hue which, under the softening touch of time, the marble has assumed, the Temple looks as if it had been formed by fairy hands, not from the bed of a rocky mountain, but from the golden light of an Athenian sun-set.

<sup>1</sup> De Coron. p. 290, 25.



## CHAPTER XIX.

### ATHENS.

#### *Tower of the Winds, &c.*

Ἐνθάδε μιστύλλουσι δρόμον φαεθοντίδος ἀγλῆς,  
ὔδασι δ' ἡελίοιο ταλαντεύουσι κελεύθους.

Anthol. T. ii. p. 263. *Jacobs.*

*Here they mete out the brilliant sunbeam's course ;  
With water guage the swiftness of the sun.*

FOUR other buildings may be mentioned here, as completing our notices of the decorated edifices, belonging to the period of its independence, that still survive at Athens. These are the TOWER of the WINDS, the CHORAGIC MONUMENT of LYSICRATES, the TEMPLE of JUPITER OLYMPIUS, and the PANATHENAIIC STADIUM. They stand in the above order, and nearly in a line, drawn from the Temple of Theseus toward the south-east.

The TOWER of the WINDS, if we consider its object, will appear to have been well placed. It stands near the centre of the site of the City, a little to the north of the Acropolis. In form it is an octagon. Each of the eight sides faces the direction of one of the eight winds into which the Athenian compass was divided; and both the name and the ideal form of that Wind is sculptured on the side which faces its direction. If we may so speak,—it thus served as a marble mirror to the Winds.



The names of the Winds being ascertained from these inscriptions, and the Winds themselves being there represented, with their appropriate attributes, we are thus presented with an interesting picture of the influence of each wind on the climate of Attica. This octagonal tower is to the Athenian Winds what Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar is to the British months.

All the eight figures of the Winds are represented as winged, and floating through the air in a nearly horizontal position. Only two, the two mildest, Libs and Notus, have the feet bare; none have any covering to the head. Beginning at the <sup>1</sup> north side, the observer sees Boreas, the wind to which that side corresponds, blowing a twisted cone, equipped in a thick sleeved mantle, with folds blustering in the air, and high-laced buskins; as the spectator moves eastward, the Wind on the next side of the octagon presents him with a plateau containing olives, being the productions to which its influence is favourable; the East-wind exhibits a profusion of flowers and fruits; the next wind, Eurus, with stern and scowling aspect, his right arm muffled in his mantle, threatens him with a hurricane; the South-wind, Notus, is ready to deluge him with a torrent of rain from a swelling urceus held in his bared arms. The next Wind, driving before him the prow of a ship, promises him a rapid voyage. Zephyrus floating softly along, showers into the air a lapful of flowers; while his inclement neighbour bears a bronze vessel of charcoal in his hands, in order to dispel the cold which he has caused.

The roof of the octagon was surmounted by a Triton turning on an axis; this was the vane. This tower served

<sup>1</sup> The order is this: Boreas, Kaikias, Apeliotes, Eurus, Notus, Libs, Zephyrus, Skiron.



as an index to the Winds, and as a picture of their character ; it was also a chronometer. On its eight sides, beneath the figures of the Winds, are traced horary lines, which with the styles of the gnomons above them formed eight dials ; and this tower, placed in the heart of the town, was the City clock of Athens. By it the affairs of the inhabitants were regulated. The law-courts sat, and merchants transacted their business, from its dictation. If we may trust the<sup>1</sup> comic descriptions of another class, we may imagine the ravenous parasite watching with impatience the progress of the shadow cast by the sun over these lines on its marble face, in order

ὅταν ᾗ δεκάπουν τὸ στοιχείον, λιπαρὸν χωρεῖν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

*When the shade on the dial has come to ten feet, to go to a sumptuous supper.*

Rome for many centuries possessed either no dials, or ill-constructed ones. But at Athens, time, if not better spent, was at least measured with more diligence. In addition to its external provisions, there was a water-clock in the inside of this tower, which served in cloudy weather as a substitute for the dial and the sun.

<sup>1</sup> Eubul. Athen. 8. c. Menander. Ath. 243. a. Arist. Eccles. 652. where Schol. “τὸ παλαιὸν καλοῦντες ἐς δεῖπνον καὶ καλούμενοι παρεσημαίνοντο τὴν σκιάν· οὐδ’ ὑποτηρήσεως οὔσης ΑΙΤΙΑΣ (read ΕΤΕΙΑΣ, i. e. since there was then no indication even of the *year*, much less of the *day*, to intimate) εἰς πόσας ὥρας προήκει τὸ ἔτος.” αἰτίας and ἐτείας were identical in sound, when this Scholion was transcribed, as they are in Greece now. Cp. Bast. Palaeogr. pp. 755, 761, 869. The same confusion existed in Eurip. Dan. fragm. i. 9.

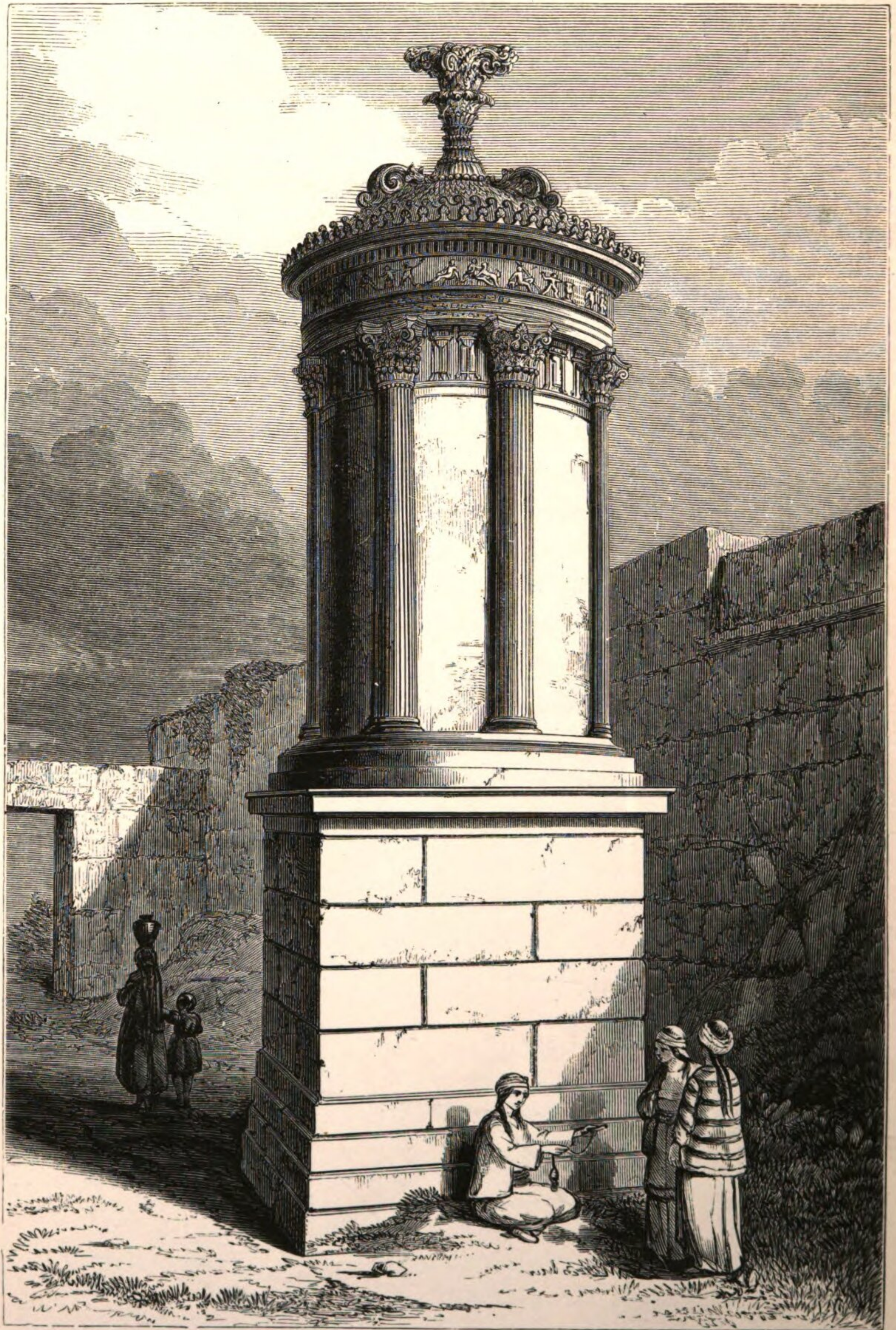
—οἱ δ’ ὄλβου μέτα  
φθίνουσ’ αἰτίοις προσφερέϊς μεταλλαγαῖς ;

There Valckenaer (Diatr. p. 6.) has well restored ἐτείοις. The expression ὥρας ἐτείους occurs in Diog. Laert. ix. 10. Pausan. Phoc. 33, τὰς τοῦ ἔτους ὥρας.









CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES AT ATHENS.

[To face page 131.]



The fabrics (of which the small circular building, called the CHORAGIC MONUMENT of LYSICRATES, and distinguished by its graceful Corinthian proportions, is the only surviving relic) must have possessed great interest, both from their object and execution.<sup>1</sup> They were a series of small temples forming a street, and were surmounted by finials supporting the Tripods gained by victorious Choragi in the neighbouring Theatre of Bacchus, and here dedicated by them to that deity, the patron of dramatic representations. Hence the line formed by these temples was called "the Street of Tripods."

From the inscriptions engraved on the architraves of these temples, which recorded the names of the victorious parties, and the year in which the victory was gained, the dramatic chronicles, or *didascalie*, were mainly compiled. Thus these small fabrics served the purposes of Fasti, Trophies and Temples. What a host of soul-stirring thoughts arose in the mind of an Athenian as he walked along this street!

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 20, 1. ἐστὶν ὁδὸς καλουμένη Τρίποδες· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον, ναοὶ θεῶν μεγάλοι, καὶ σφισιν ἐφειστήκασιν τρίποδες—Before μεγάλοι the word οὗ is, probably, to be inserted. Plato Gorg. 472. a. Τρίποδες ἐφειξῆς ἐστῶτες ἐν Διονυσίῳ, speaking of this street.

Connected with the Dionysiac Theatre on the west and this street of the Tripods on the east, was the Temple of Dionysus. At this spot is the following inscription :

ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΙΝΟΝ ΣΩΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΘΕΝ  
 Η ΓΥΝΗ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΙΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚΗ  
 ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ.

And connected with the street of Tripods the following :

ΤΙΜΟΔΗΜΟΣ ΤΙΜΟΔΗΜΟΥ  
 ΠΑΙΔΩΝ ΕΝΙΚΑ . . . . .

The inscription on the Monument of Lysicrates is on the *eastern* part of its curved architrave : the street therefore, probably, ran on *that* side of it.



The TEMPLE of JUPITER OLYMPIUS was one of the first conceived and last executed of the sacred monuments of Athens. It was begun in the time of Peisistratus,<sup>1</sup> and the building went along with the course of the national existence of Athens, which ceased to be independent before the Temple of Jupiter was completed. It was reserved to a Roman emperor, Hadrian, to finish the work, about seven centuries after its commencement; and this gigantic fabric stood on its vast site, a striking proof of the power of Rome exerted at a distance from Rome on the Athenian soil. This Temple became an emblem of great intellectual works, commenced with huge effort, but not brought to a conclusion by their projector. For example, the portico and peristyle, which, in Plutarch's<sup>2</sup> lively language, were erected by Plato, of his great and never finished work the Atlantis, are compared by him to the Olympiëum.

It is hardly possible to conceive where and how the enormous masses have disappeared, of which this temple was built. Its remains are now reduced to a few columns which stand together at the south-east angle of the great platform once planted with the long files of its pillars. To compare great things with small, they look like the few remaining chess-men, driven into a corner at the end of a game.

<sup>1</sup> Vitruv. lib. vii. præfat. Vell. Patere. i. 10. Antiochus Epiphanes Athenis Olympiëum inchoavit, commenced the completion of it (Cp. John ii. 20). Sueton. Aug. 60, Ædem Jovis Olympici Athenis antiquitus inchoatam perficere communi sumptu destinaverunt genioque ejus (Augusti) dedicare.

<sup>2</sup> Vit. Solon, p. 383.



## CHAPTER XX.

### ATHENS.

#### *The Stadium.*

λάμπει δὲ σαφῆς ἀρετὰ

ἔν τε γυμνοῖσι σταδίοις

ἔν τ' ἀσπιδοδούποισιν ὀπλίταις δρόμοις.

PINDAR. *Isth.* i. 30.

THE STADIUM of Athens was the most remarkable monument on the south side of the Ilissus. Here a sloping bank runs parallel to the river; and in this slope a semi-elliptical hollow, facing the north, has been scooped out of the soil, of somewhat more than <sup>1</sup> six hundred feet in length, and at right angles to the river. This was the Athenian Stadium. Its shelving margins were once cased with seats of white marble; it is now a long and grass-grown hollow retiring into the hill-side.

The concave extremity of the Stadium, which is its farthest point from the Ilissus, is somewhat of a higher level than that which is nearer to it. The racer started from a point at the lower extremity (*ἄφεσις*),<sup>2</sup> and having completed one

<sup>1</sup> The average length of the Stadium was 600 Grecian feet (*ἑξ πλέθρα*) equal to about 612 English. The interior of the Athenian Stadium is found to measure 630 English feet. The extent of the *course* itself cannot now be precisely ascertained; but it was necessarily something less than the length of the interior.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf. *Soph. Elect.* 686.



course in a straight line (δρόμος or στάδιον), turned round the point of curvature (καμπτήρ) at the higher extremity, and thus descended in a line parallel to that of his ascent till he<sup>1</sup> arrived at the goal (βαλβίς), which was a point a little to the east of that from which he had started; thus he accomplished a double course (δίαυλος).

It was this inclination in the bed of the Stadium, which suggested the expressions of<sup>2</sup> Plato in a passage which has a peculiar reference to this spot. In comparing the transactions of human life with those of the Stadium, he asks whether the ultimate results of both have not also some points of resemblance: οὐχ οἱ μὲν δεινοί τε καὶ ἄδικοι, he inquires, δρῶσιν ὅπερ οἱ δρομεῖς, ὅσοι ἂν θέωσιν εὖ ἀπὸ τῶν κάτω, ἀπὸ δε τῶν ἄνω μή; τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀξέως ἀναπηδῶσιν, τελευτῶντες δὲ καταγέλαστοι γίνονται, τὰ ὦτα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀστεφάνωτοι ἀποτρέχοντες; *Do not those wily and unjust persons fare like runners in the Stadium, who run well from its lower end, but not so from its upper extremity? at first they shoot forth impetuously, but at the end of the race they become ridiculous; their ears flagging on their shoulders, and they themselves slinking off uncrowned.* The chaplets of victory of which he speaks, and the profusion of flowers which we know<sup>3</sup> to have been showered on the heads of the successful competitors in the race, by the spectators in the seats above them, might be

<sup>1</sup> Soph. Elect. 686. ἰσώσας τῇ ἀφέσει τὰ τέρματα.

<sup>2</sup> It has been supposed that this Panathenaic Stadium was not constructed till the administration of the orator Lycurgus, about 350 B.C. But the assertion of the pseudo-Plutarch (Vitt. x. Oratt.) on which this supposition rests, is merely to the effect, that Lycurgus completed (ἐξεργάσατο) the Stadium, by constructing a podium (κρηπίς), and levelling the bed (χαράδρα) of the Stadium. Sophocles makes an Athenian charioteer victorious over nine competitors at Delphi (Electra, 707 sq.) Did not Athens then possess a Stadium? (see also Pindar Ol. xiii. 50.) and there is no evidence of there having been ever more than one at Athens.

<sup>3</sup> See Phot. Lex. v. περιαγειρόμενοι, and Ruhnck. Tim. p. 216.



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.....ΙΠΠΟΘΩΝΤΙΔΟΣ ΦΥΛΗΣ  
ΠΩΛΙΚΗΙ ΞΥΝΩΡΙΔΙ ΑΚΑΜΠΙΟΝ  
(ὁ δέῖνα τοῦ δέῖνα) ΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΑΙΑΝΤΙΔΟΣ ΦΥΛΗΣ  
ΠΩΛΙΚΗΙ ΞΥΝΩΡΙΔΙ ΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ  
.....ΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΟΣ ΦΥΛΗΣ  
ΞΥΝ ΑΣΠΙΔΙ ΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ ΕΝ ΟΠΛΟΙΣ  
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΠΠΕΩΝ  
ΑΙΓΕΙΔΟΣ ΦΥΛΗΣ  
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΠΠΕΩΝ  
ΙΠΠΟΘΩΝΤΙΔΟΣ ΦΥΛΗΣ  
ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΠΠΕΩΝ ΙΠΠΩ ΠΟΛΥΔΡΟΜΩ  
.....ΑΙΓΕΙΔΟΣ ΦΥΛΗΣ  
.....ΠΠΟΘ...ΟΦΩΝ  
.....ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ



gathered for this purpose from the blooming banks of the neighbouring Ilissus.

The measure of Time usually adopted in narratives on the Athenian stage is borrowed from the Stadium;

ἤδη δ' ἂν ἔλκων κῶλον ἐκπλέθρου δρόμου<sup>1</sup>  
ταχὺς βαδιστῆς τερμόνων ἂν ἦπτετο.

EURIP. *Med.* 1151.

*Now would a runner swift six hundred feet  
Have traversed on the course, and reached the goal.*

This is an expression used by a messenger in the *Medea* of Euripides, in order to give the audience an idea of the interval of time after which an event occurred: and for a similar purpose the audience is referred to the same standard of time in the recital of another dramatic intelligencer, in another play of the same poet,

θάσσον δὲ βύρσαν ἐξέδειρεν, ἢ δρομεὺς  
δισσοὺς διαύλους ἱππίους διήνυσε.

EURIP. *Electr.* 825.

*He flayed the hide more quickly than a runner  
Twice climbs the tall arch of his double course.*

This practice may be illustrated by the consideration of the fact, that the Stadium of Athens was nearly in the front of the spectators as they sat and listened to those narratives in the theatre. Being visible to the audience, it was properly appealed to, as a sort of theatrical Chronometer. The number of courses which could be traversed by a swift runner in that Stadium during the occurrence of any given event, would thus give a clear idea of its duration. They would be like degrees of a visible dial<sup>2</sup> traversed by the shadow cast upon its face.

<sup>1</sup> The Stadium is no doubt referred to above in the term ἐκπλεθρος δρόμος, for the πλέθρον was ἕκτον μέρος σταδίου. Tim. Lex. Platon.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription copied in another part of Athens, affords an illustration of the contests which once took place on this spot, and may be inserted here. See the opposite page.



## CHAPTER XXI.

### ATHENS.

*Ilissus, City Walls ; Boundaries of the City.*

καναχοῦσι πηγαί, δωδεκάκρουνον τὸ στόμα,  
Ιλισσὸς ἐν τῇ φάρυγι.

CRATINUS *apud* SUID. s. v. δωδεκάκρουνον.

*His mouth's a Conduit of twelve gushing Pipes  
That pour a loud Ilissus down his throat.*

WE return from the Stadium to the ILISSUS. To-day (Jan. 3) the stream makes a fine cascade at the point to which Cratinus alludes. That point is a little to the south of the Olympieum, and of the fountain of CALLIRHÖE. The current of the river, or torrent rather, is there divided into two streams; the one nearer the left bank comes down over a stone bed cut and worn into a large and deep trough, the other division of the stream finds its way through the rock by subterranean artificial κροῦνοι or pipes bored through it, which suggested the description of Cratinus: seven of them are yet visible. We see some Athenian women standing in the stream, and washing<sup>1</sup> linen under these pipes cut through the rock.

<sup>1</sup> Which seems to have been an ancient practice here: for near this spot a sculptured marble, recording a religious offering from the Washers to the Nymphs of the stream, was found in 1759 with an inscription beginning with Οἱ πλυνῆς Νύμφαις εὐξάμενοι. Paciaudi Mon. Pel. i. p. 207. Millin. Gal. Myth. n. 327.



The fountain of Callirhœe is said to have been supplied by the Ilissus. The ducts by which its water was brought from the stream probably suggested its name *έννεάκρουνος*: it seems to have been on the outer side of the city-wall. This position is less surprising, when we remember the provisions of the Amphictyonic oath, which obliged all the contracting parties never to prohibit a confederate city from the use of its fountains either in peace or war.

Not one of the Mountains of Athens survives in the works of her Tragic writers. The name of the Attic mountain *Hymettus* has long been current in the world; but its celebrity is *not* due to *Attic* writers. A fragment of Eubulus<sup>1</sup> appears to present the only existing record of its name in the writings of Attica.

It is also remarkable that the banks of the Athenian stream, the *Ilissus*, have received no favourable notices from the poets of Athens,<sup>2</sup> while its rival, the *Cephisus*, which has no better claims on the ground of magnitude or beauty, has been honoured by harmonious praise. Ilissus was too near the city, too much connected with ordinary and commonplace associations of city life, to be a favourite with poets.

<sup>1</sup> Apud J. Pollucem, vi. 67. See Quarterly Review, vol. lxiv. p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> The only passage, as far as I am aware, in the extant works of the Athenian tragic dramatists, in which there is a shadow of allusion to the Ilissus, is in the *Œdipus Coloneus*, v. 687. Here, however, as the best MSS. and the context show, *Κηφισοῦ*, and not *Ἰλισσοῦ*, is the true reading. The latter was probably here introduced into his own MS. by a scribe who was a little angry at the preference universally given to the Cephisus. As a sort of revenge for this, another copyist has attempted to make room for the Cephisus, by ejecting the Ilissus from its proper place in Apollon. Rhod. i. 215. and by inserting the name of the former. We may here observe, in connexion with this topic, that the Athenian dramatists never speak of *Phalerum* or *Peiræus* as Athenian harbours, but of *Munychia* only. (Eur. Hippolyt. 760.) Whence it may be inferred, that the port of Munychia had then fallen into disuse: for it seems it would only have begun to be of use to poets, when it had ceased to be used by merchants and sailors.



It had, probably, a plebeian sound in *their* ears. There was no retirement here such as the Muses loved. They found the quiet, which they sought here in vain, in the groves of the Academy, on the banks of the Cephissus, where

ἔνθα ποθ' ἄγνὰς  
 ἑννέα Πιερίδας Μούσας λέγουσι  
 ξανθὰν Ἀρμονίαν φυτεῦσαι,  
 τοῦ καλλινάου τ' ἀπὸ Κηφισοῦ ῥοὰς  
 τὰν Κύπριν κλήζουσιν ἀφυσσαμέναν  
 χώρας καταπνεῦσαι μετρίας ἀνέμων  
 ἡδυπνόους αὔρας . . . .

*Harmonia fair, as Poets dream,  
 Did the nine holy Muses bear,  
 And Venus, from Cephissus' limpid stream,  
 Breathes o'er the vales ambrosial gales  
 Of soft and scented air.*

The greater fastidiousness of the Athenian mind, as contrasted with the Roman, is seen in their treatment of their rivers. The *Tiber* finds often a place in the writings of Virgil and Horace: not so the Ilissus in those of Athenian bards.

The poetical disabilities of the Ilissus were not however absolute and unqualified, and were not without their compensation. To poets writing *at a distance* from Athens, the proximity of that river to its walls, which alienated from it the minds of *Athenian* poets, conveyed no unpleasant idea, but was rather a recommendation, as connecting it with the city. Ilissus was promoted by them to a distinguished place in the poetical map. To them, from Apollonius Rhodius down to <sup>1</sup> Milton, the Ilissus, and not the Cephissus, was the River of Athens.

Plato dwelt in the ACADEMY, and therefore near the CEPHISUS; he has been more generous to the rival stream,

<sup>1</sup> Par. Reg. iv. 249.



and has honoured the Ilissus with a place in one of his most beautiful landscapes. The banks of this stream, a little above the fountain before noticed, derive at present their principal interest from having been chosen by him as the scene of the dialogue of Phædrus with Socrates. However bare and treeless they now may be—and indeed they are entirely so—the leaves of the platane which the genius of Plato<sup>1</sup> has planted on the side of the Ilissus still seem to cast their shadow over the stream, and the agnus castus which then flowered in its bed has been endued by him with a perennial freshness.

Connected with this same spot, and with the same dialogue of Plato, is a pleasing incident of more recent times. The philosophic Fronto, in a<sup>2</sup> letter (lately discovered in the Ambrosian library at Milan,) addressed to his pupil Marcus Aurelius, the future emperor of Rome, at that time studying at Athens, comments on the subject and language of the above-mentioned Platonic dialogue in a strain of observation which does credit to its author as a philosopher and a man. He concludes his letter by inviting his young scholar to join him in a walk, outside the city of Athens, and toward the same spot as had been visited by Phædrus and Socrates; not for the sake of enjoying the shade of the platane, or the fragrance of the agnus castus, which the genius of Plato planted there, but in order to search for a small and more neglected flower—the heliotrope—which he describes as growing in that spot, and from the properties of which he has drawn an emblematic moral.

The invitation is obscurely expressed in the edition given by Angelo Mai,<sup>3</sup> of those letters from the MS. in the Ambrosian library. *"Εοικας, ὦ παῖ, τὸ ἄνθος τοῦτο ἰδεῖν ἐθέλειν*

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Plat. Phædr. init. and Cicero de Orat. i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. vii. p. 398. ed. Francof.

<sup>3</sup> The late Cardinal Mai.



. . . ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τέ σοι δ' ἑπιδείξω ΤΙΧΟΥΣ πρὸς τὸν ΙΑΙΣΟΝ ἅμα ἄμφω βαδίσαιμεν; which words, unintelligible as they there stand, may, by reference to the localities of the spot, and the dialogue of Plato, be presented in a more intelligible form<sup>1</sup> as follows; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τε, σοὶ δ' ἐπιδείξω, Εἰ ἔξω ΤΕΙΧΟΥΣ πρὸς τὸν ἸΑΙΣΟΝ ἅμα ἄμφω βαδίσαιμεν. *You seem anxious to see the flower I mention, and I am also; but I will point it out to you, if we take a walk together, outside the city-wall, to the Ilissus.*

This passage has a topographical value, as showing that the *Ilissus* and Callirhœe—and still less the Stadium—were not *within* the circuit of the City Walls.<sup>2</sup>

The<sup>3</sup> district near the Ilissus was called Agra; another name which it bore was Helicon, being so called from its sinuous slopes, ἑλικες. It resembled in this respect, both in its name and its cause, the illustrious mountain of Attica, Mount Pent-elicus, where *Pente* seems to mean *several*, as in the Pentedactylon of the Mænalian range.

<sup>1</sup> The words εἰ ἔξω were absorbed by the last syllable of the preceding one, ἐπιδείξω. See the passages, to which Fronto alludes, in the Phædrus, p. 227. a. πορεύομαι ἔξω τείχους; and p. 229. a. κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἴωμεν. Fr. Jacobs, in Wolf's Analekten, i. p. 115, had before restored Ἰλισσὸν to the passage in Fronto: but for τείχους he proposes τάχος. Cp. Aristoph. Aves, 491, κάρτι προκύπτω ΕΞΩ ΤΕΙΧΟΥΣ.

<sup>2</sup> My learned fellow traveller, M. Forchhammer, will pardon me for adhering to this opinion, though at variance with his own and that of an English scholar, the Rev. W. G. Cookesley, of Eton College, who has published an excellent Map, accompanied with valuable illustrations of Athenian Topography. Eton. 1852.

<sup>3</sup> Bekker. Anec. p. 326. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνωτάτω (so corrected by Müller Brief nach Athen), ΠΡΟΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΝ εἰλειθυῖα, τῷ δ' ὄχθῳ πάλαι ὄνομα τούτῳ ὅς νῦν Ἀγρα καλεῖται Ἑλικών. Where for πρὸς ἀγορὰ should be read προσαγοράῃ, i. e. προσαγορεύεται, i. e. is called. The ἀγορὰ is far distant, and has nothing to do here.



## CHAPTER XXII.

### ATHENS.

#### *Plan of the City.*

Ποῦ τὴν Ἑκκλησίαν ὄψομαι, ποῦ Κεραμεικὸν, Ἀγορὰν,  
Δικαστήρια, τὴν καλὴν Ἀκρόπολιν, τὰς Σεμνὰς Θεάς;

ALCIPHR. EPIST. MENAND. p. 346. *Meineke.*

*Where shall I see the Pnyx, where the Cerameicus, the Agora, the  
Tribunals, the fair Acropolis, the Temple of the Furies?*

IN a survey of the site of the Athenian city, with a view to observe the prominent physical features of Athenian topography, the following objects present themselves. The central rock of the ACROPOLIS, declining westward toward the AREOPAGUS: the bed of rocky soil re-appearing in the cliff of the Areopagus; the Areopagus shelving downward, at its western edge, and after a narrow dip converging to meet a range of rock coming towards it from the south-east. On this latter range were the PNYX and MUSEUM. The angular valley which was formed by this convergence, being thus fenced by hills, except at the south-east, where it is bounded by the ILISSUS, offered an advantageous site for the future city of which <sup>1</sup> the rock of the Acropolis was the citadel.

In this valley accordingly, and on that rock, stood the

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. ii. 14. τὸ πρὸ τούτου (Theseus) ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον.



most ancient part of the Athenian city. Here were its oldest temples; here, in a word, was Athens; and to this district was its splendour confined, until the age of Themistocles.

In that age a public monument existed, which still survives, the PNYX. Its site will assist us in illustrating and confirming the positions which we have assigned to other buildings necessarily connected with it.

It is evident that the site of the Pnyx would have been so selected as to be of easy access to the People who were to *assemble* there. It would therefore be placed near the AGORA. Accordingly we find that the Agora was on the north of the Pnyx in the valley immediately beneath it.

Again, the political connection subsisting between the two assemblies, that of the Senate (*βουλὴ*) and that of the People in the Pnyx, and the transmission of legislative enactments from the senate of Five Hundred to the Popular Assembly, would seem to furnish a presumption that the Senate-house would be placed in the neighbourhood of the Pnyx.

For a similar reason we should infer, that as the existing laws were frequently appealed to by the orators in the Pnyx, the depository of those laws would be of easy access from that place.

The facts are so.<sup>1</sup>

The senate-house (*Βουλευτήριον*) and the depository of Laws (the *Metröum*), as can be shown from Pausanias, were placed in the valley of the Agora below the Pnyx.

The council of the AREOPAGUS was called the "*Higher Senate*" (*ἡ ἄνω βουλή*). Hence we should infer that the

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 3. 5. sqq. and i. 5. 1. Cp. Plutarch. Pericl. 7. ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπ' ἀγορὰν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον πορευόμενος.



*lower* senate met at no great distance from it. Accordingly, the Senate-house was at the foot of the Areopagus hill.

Again, the Prytanes, as presiding in the Pnyx, and as Members of the Senate, would have their official residence near to both. Their domicile (the *θόλος*) was so. It was close to the Senate-house.

The ALTAR of the TWELVE GODS was the *milliarium aureum*,<sup>1</sup> from which the roads of Attica were measured. It would therefore stand in some central spot, as did its counterpart at Rome: and in fact, the altar in question stood in the Athenian Agora, probably in its centre.

A little to the east of the Tholus stood the STATUES of the TEN HEROES (the *Ἑπώνυμοι*) who gave names to the ten Athenian tribes. To these statues the programmes of laws were attached for public inspection, before they were discussed in the Pnyx. The situation of these statues illustrates that practice. They stood<sup>2</sup> in the Agora, in the centre of the political quarter of Athens. Mars, at the southern foot of his own hill, occupied a temple between the statues of the Ten Heroes on the west, and those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton on the east; and thus we are brought to the western foot of the Acropolis, near which point, as has been before noticed, these two statues stood.

<sup>1</sup> See Boeck Inscr. n. 525. Thuc. vi. 54. Aristoph. Aves, 1008.

<sup>2</sup> They stood on the eastern verge of the Agora on a platform, probably a *ἡμικύκλιον*, called *ὀρχήστρα*. Tim. Lex. Plat. in v. p. 196. and Phot. p. 351. *πρῶτον ἐκλήθη ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*. It is to this orchestra, and not, I think, to that of the Theatre, that Diocleides alludes, (Andoc. Myst. p. 112. Bekker,) when he asserts that he saw by the light of the moon, when standing in the Lenæum, the three hundred men whom he accuses of having mutilated the Hermæ, as they were descending from the Odeum, and going towards the Orchestra. He implies that they were just at the eastern verge of the Agora, and were going to cross it toward the Stoa of the *Hermæ* at its other extremity, which was their main object.



We return to the Metröum, and proceed westward from that point. Near this temple of the Mother of the Gods was that of the Father-Deity of the Athenians—of Apollo Patröus. It was on the north-east of the Metröum. To the north-west of the same building was the spot chosen by Plato<sup>1</sup> for the scene of Euthyphro's dialogue with Socrates; the subject of which was in harmony with the character of that place. It was the Stoa, the Porch—or rather, the Colonnade or Arcade—in which sat the Basileus or King-Archon who took cognisance of *religious* suits, and from him was called the STOA BASILEIOS.<sup>2</sup> Parallel and very near to it was another Colonnade, much frequented by the same philosopher, Socrates: this was the STOA of JUPITER ELEUTHERIOS. Not far to the north-west of this Stoa, as<sup>3</sup> Pausanias informs us, was the WESTERN WALL of the city, and a city Gate in the wall; a little to the east of which, and therefore *within* the city, were two buildings, one the TEMPLE of CERES, the other called the POMPEIUM.

What the name of this GATE was, has been a subject of controversy.

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Menexen. init.

<sup>2</sup> Harpocrat. v. Βασίλειος Στοά. See also Plato. Charmid. p. 55. Heindorf. The speech of Praxagora in Ecclesiast. 685. is a very descriptive one, and replete with topographical information;

B. τὰ δὲ κληρωτήρια ποῖ τρεψεις; Π. εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καταθήσω, κῆρα στήσασα παρ' Ἀρμοδίῳ κληρώσω πάντας, ἕως ἂν εἰδῶς ὁ λαχὼν ἀπὶ χαίρων ἐν ᾧ ποίῳ γράμματι δειπνῇ, καὶ κηρύξω τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βῆτ' εἰς τὴν στοιὰν ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν Βασίλειον δειπνήσοντας, τὸ δὲ θῆτ' εἰς τὴν παρὰ ταύτην.

The θῆτα cannot refer to the *Theseum*, which is not a Stoa, as has been supposed; but it refers to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, which stood parallel to the Stoa Basileios, or παρὰ ταύτην. (Harpocr. in βασίλειος στοά· δύο στοαὶ ἦσαν παρ' ἀλλήλας, ἡ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ βασίλειος). And this was parallel to the Stoa Basileios in *site*, as θῆτα is to βῆτα in *sound*.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i. 2. 4.



Most modern topographers place it to the north-west of the Temple of Theseus.

It is important to determine the question of its position, as this was the gate at which Pausanias commences his description of Athens, (not that he must be supposed to have entered the city by that gate) ; and could it therefore be identified with some gate the position of which is known, it would serve to determine with more accuracy the site of those objects which Pausanias describes.<sup>1</sup> The following considerations may, perhaps, assist in this inquiry.

Near the gate in question, as has been said, stood a building called the POMPEIUM. Now the <sup>2</sup> Pompeium, as its name indicates, served as a depository for the objects employed in the sacred πομπαὶ or processions, namely, in the Panathenaic procession, and in that to Eleusis. Such a building must have stood in a spot by which those processions passed. Now, it is well known that the Panathenaic procession commenced its progress at a little distance *outside* the walls, and then entered Athens, moving eastward; the Eleusinian, on the other hand, started *within* the city, and having issued from it, advanced westward to Eleusis. It is also known that both these two processions—the former in its entrance to the city, the latter in its exit from it—passed through one and the same gate<sup>3</sup>—the DIPYLOM. But they

<sup>1</sup> Paus. i. 2. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. i. 2. 4. Hence the Temple of Ceres, and the statue of Proserpine, the Eleusinian deities, were placed near it: hence, too, it seems, Alcibiades selected the house of Polytion, which stood close by, for the scene of his counterfeit of the Eleusinian mysteries.

<sup>3</sup> The latter passed through the Thriasian gate; for that gate was called *Thriasian*, as leading to *Thria near Eleusis*: and the Thriasian gate was the same as Dipylum (Plutarch. Pericl. T. i. p. 651): αἱ Θριάσαι πύλαι αἱ νῦν Δίπυλον ὀνομάζονται. Also the Dipylum was the communication from the outer to the inner Cerameicus: hence Plutarch called the latter τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμεικόν. Plut. Syll.



also passed the Pompeium ; and the Pompeium is described as near one of the gates of the city. Hence that gate which stood near the Pompeium was, probably, no other than that through which these processions passed. It was the Dipylum. Pausanias therefore, it would seem, begins his description of Athens from the Dipylum gate, which it was very probable he should do, for this was the largest and most remarkable of all the avenues to the city of Athens.

The Dipylum led to Eleusis ; it led also to Colonus, and it was sometimes used as an entrance by persons coming from the <sup>1</sup> Peiræus. The position to be assigned to it must satisfy these three conditions ; it has also been shown to have been near the Pompeium. The Pompeium was near the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, which stood on the western verge of the Agora ; and the Agora was a circular area lying in the hollow between the Areopagus and the Pnyx. From these

T. iii. p. 104. That the Panathenaic procession entered the city from the outer Cerameicus, appears from Thuc. vi. 57. It therefore passed through the Dipylum.

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. xvi. 25. Attalus passes from the Peiræus through Dipylum. That the Dipylum was the main entrance from the Peiræus is evident from Lucian Navig. 17. 24. This consideration deters me from acquiescing in the common opinion, that the Dipylum was at the N. N. W. angle of Athens. Another reason which induces me to place the Dipylum where I have marked it in the map is this.

The Dipylum was one of the principal Gates of Athens, and appears to have led to the most distinguished quarter of Athens, which was that between the Pnyx and Areopagus, and that to the *South* of the Acropolis, and the Acropolis itself.

A very competent judge, who has given much attention to Athenian Topography, the Rev. W. G. Cookesley, of Eton College, has been led to the same result.

On the whole, let me not be supposed to pronounce a confident opinion on the subject, but to submit it to the consideration of the intelligent reader : and if he should be of opinion that the DIPYLYM or *Thriasian Gate* ought to be placed to the N. W. of the Temple of Theseus, let him then be requested to make in my Plan the requisite corrections which would follow from such an opinion.



premises I am inclined to infer that the DIPYLUM stood in the hollow to the north of the hill on which the Pnyx stands. Hence it might be said to stand in the <sup>1</sup> *mouth of the city*, as it is described to be.

The Dipylum was the gate which served as the communication from the *Inner* Cerameicus to that which was outside the city, and which was therefore called the *Outer* Cerameicus. The statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton which stood at the western foot of the Acropolis, were contained in the wide range of the Cerameicus: hence therefore all the buildings we have noticed in this chapter, since they lie between these two limits, that is, between the Dipylum on the north-west, and these two statues on the east, were comprised within the <sup>2</sup> Inner Cerameicus.

The site occupied by the Agora <sup>3</sup> coincided with a part of that district which was sometimes called the Inner Cerameicus; it extended indeed to the same point eastward, for the same two statues which stood in the Cerameicus are often mentioned as existing in the Agora: but in <sup>4</sup> a westerly direction it did not reach to above half the distance to which the Cerameicus extended. The Agora seems to have been bounded on the north-west by the narrow passage which lies between the Areopagus and the western range of rocky elevations. In this passage was probably the GATE of the AGORA.

Of the public buildings, antecedent to the age of Pericles,

<sup>1</sup> T. Liv. xxxi. 24. A Dipylo accessit. Porta ea velut in ore urbis posita major aliquanto patentiorque quam ceteræ est.

<sup>2</sup> By *later* writers the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton are described as in the *Cerameicus*; by *earlier* authors they are placed in the *Agora*.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the ἀγορὰς κύκλος, see the important remarks of Casaubon. Theophrast, p. 28, ed. Needham.

<sup>4</sup> The Leocorium was in μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ, but was on the verge of the *Agora*. See Harpocrat. and Hesych. s. v. Λεωκόριον.



there were but few on the northern side of the Areopagus. The <sup>1</sup> LEOCORIUM was one of the most ancient. It stood to the north of the Agora on the way to the TEMPLE of THESEUS. That Temple is a remarkable point in this quarter of the city. It was one of the earliest buildings, of any public importance, erected in this district. The elevation of the ground no doubt recommended it as a site for a temple; and the tumular form of the site might have strengthened its claim, when that temple was to be also a tomb.

Cimon, who discovered the remains of Theseus at <sup>2</sup> Skyros, and conveyed them thence to Athens, was then enjoying the greatest popularity at Athens. Perhaps therefore a reference to that quarter of the city, with which Cimon was connected,<sup>3</sup> might have influenced the choice of that site on which the temple was to be built. Cimon possessed a place of domestic burial near that part of Athens which was called Melitë. It may, I think, be shown that the quarter was called MELITE, in which the Temple of Theseus now stands.<sup>4</sup>

A part of the city which adjoined Melite, and which in consequence was sometimes <sup>5</sup> confounded with it, was termed

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. vi. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Cimon. iii. p. 189. Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> Cimon going, as it seems from his house to the citadel passes through the Cerameicus. Plutarch. iii. p. 181. Themistocles also lived in Melite. Plutarch. Themist. p. 482.

<sup>4</sup> The *πύλαι Μελιτίδες*. (Marcellin. v. Thuc. p. ix.) were *πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος* (Herod. vi. 103.) Melite also joined Colonus. (Schol. Av. 998.) Colonus was on the north side of the Agora. Hence the northern and southern limits of Melite are determined: between these the *Theseum* stands.

That the Theseum stood in Melite is rendered more probable by the fact, that in Melite stood the Melanippeion, *Μελανίππου τοῦ Θήσεως ἡρώον*, and also by the promise of Theseus to Hercules quoted above (*δόμους τε δώσω χρημάτων τ' ἐμῶν μέρος*), which was I conceive realised in the inauguration of Hercules into Melite near the *Theseum* (comp. Ar. Ran. 502), or, in the mythological language of Athens, in his receiving *Melite in marriage* (Schol. Ran. 502.) Thus the Theseum being in Melite, Theseus was associated with his friend and his son.

<sup>5</sup> As Harp. v. *Εὐρυσακεῖον*: *ἐν Μελίτῃ*: and Harpocr. v. *Κολωνίτας*:



COLONUS. Colonus was bounded by the northern extremity of the Agora; whence it was sometimes distinguished by the title of *Agoræus*, in order to contrast it with the more celebrated suburban Colonus, or OUTER COLONUS, which Sophocles has immortalised, and which was a mile to the north-west of the city and near the Academy. In the INNER COLONUS stood the Temple of <sup>1</sup>Hephæstus. The name and site of this temple lead us to infer that it was the goal proposed to the racers who ran with the lighted torches, having started from the outer Cerameicus and running through the Dipylum into the city.

Assuming the position of MELITE to be accurately fixed, we are enabled to determine some other positions of importance in Athenian topography. The district called CŒLE lay between Melite and the city-wall; and in the wall itself was the <sup>2</sup>GATE called the MELITENSIAN, as leading into Melite. This gate must have been on the north-west of the city, a little to the north-east of the site assigned above to Dipylum. Here then we may imagine to have been the Cemetery <sup>3</sup> in which the family of Cimon reposed, here Cimon himself, and his Olympian coursers, and his relatives Miltiades and Thucydides, were interred. This Cemetery was in the outer Cerameicus, the most beautiful suburb, and the most honourable burial-place of Athens.

Κολωνός, πλησίον τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἔνθα τὸ Εὐρυσακεῖον. Cp. Schol. Av. 998. The name Εὐρυσακεῖον seems to survive at Athens in that of the Church of St. Thomas *Vrysaki*, on which see Pittakys' *Athènes*, p. 62. and p. 468. Cp. Plutarch Solon. p. 332. Reiske. Εὐρυσάκης κατώκησεν ἐν Μελίτῃ.

<sup>1</sup> Harpocrat. v. Κολωνίτας. <sup>2</sup> Marcellin. v. Thuc. ix. Herod. vi. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Herod. vi. 103. Cp. Ælian. H. A. C. xii. 40. Marcellin. v. Thuc. ix. which passages afford an additional proof that Melite was where we have placed it: Herodotus places the cemetery just outside the walls north of Cœle: Ælian, in the exterior Cerameicus: Marcellinus, outside the gates leading into Melite. Hence Cœle was contiguous to the southern limit of the outer Cerameicus, and Melite to that of Cœle.



The positions which we have thus attempted to fix, are illustrated and confirmed by incidental testimonies in ancient writers. Cephalus, in the <sup>1</sup> *Parmenides* of Plato, in his way from the Agora to the outer Cerameicus where Parmenides was lodging, calls upon Antipho to request him to introduce him to Parmenides. Now Antipho lived in Melite, that is, in the quarter between the Agora and the outer Cerameicus. The visit therefore to Antipho was a probable one for him to make, if Melite stood where we have placed it, and not very probable for Plato to imagine, if Melite did not.

In a speech written by <sup>2</sup> Demosthenes, a plaintiff in a case of assault details the following circumstances. He was taking his walk in the evening, together with a friend, in the Agora; he meets the defendant near the Leocorium, which was at the northern verge of the Agora: the defendant passes northward, in his way toward Melite: the plaintiff pursues his walk: he takes a turn to a <sup>3</sup> temple at the southern end of the Agora, and is returning back towards the Leocorium: he is there met and assaulted by the defendant, attended by a party of friends whom he brings with him from Melite, where they had been dining together. This incident tallies exactly with the results of our inquiry.

Adjoining Melite on the east was the quarter called COLLYTUS. As the limits of Colonus sometimes trenched upon Melite on the south, so on the east they were sometimes invaded by Collytus. It was necessary to obviate this

<sup>1</sup> Plat. *Parmenid.* p. 127. a. c.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. c. *Con.* p. 1258. 25.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ Φερρέφαττιον. That this temple was in the *Agora* may be proved from Hesychius v. Φερσέφαττιον. That the Λεωκόριον was also in the *Agora*, appears from Demosthenes, (p. 1258. 23. and 25). That they were the extremes of the *Agora*, may be inferred from their being specified by Demosthenes as the opposite limits of an evening's walk in the *Agora*; and that the Leocorium was the *northern* extreme appears from Harpocrat. in v. Λεωκόριον\* ἐν μεσφ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ.



confusion between these two last by a land-mark,<sup>1</sup> which was erected on the line of contact. Melite was probably jealous of such a confusion; for the least respectable quarter in Athens was Collytus. Hence it seems that Demosthenes,<sup>2</sup> when he speaks of Æschines as acting with very limited success in a tragic character, intends to add to the bitterness of his sarcasm by specifying also that the representation took place in *Collytus*. Hence too the district of Collytus was probably assigned by Lucian to Timon the Athenian man-hater, as an appropriate place for his extraction. Connected with Collytus on the east was the quarter called DIOMEIA. Their relation was expressed by the legend that Diomus was son of Collytus.<sup>3</sup> Here were the Diomeian gates, which led into the CYNOSARGES and the LYCEUM.<sup>4</sup> This is our limit on the east.

Not far to the east of the Theseum a building of considerable interest is supposed to have stood, the Stoa, which from the frescoes that adorned it was called PÆCILE. The Pæcile has been identified with an ancient edifice which still exists in the position above specified. This opinion does not seem to me to be well founded. The architecture of this building is of a style posterior to the date of the Pæcile. There is also upon its walls an inscription which appears from its position to be coeval with the building itself; but

<sup>1</sup> With this inscription : Τοῦτο ἐστὶ Κολλυτὸς, τοῦτο δὲ Μελίτη. Strabo. p. 65. c.

<sup>2</sup> 288. 19. There seems to have been a School of Eloquence in Collytus. Tertullian de Animâ. p. 123. ed. Lut.

<sup>3</sup> Toup. Hesyc. iii. p. 525. Steph. Byz. Διόμεια. Diomeia was a borough of the Ægeid Tribe. In Bekker. Lex. Seg. p. 240. for ΔΕΙΟΜΝΑ; δῆμος Αἰγυῖδος is to be read ΔΙΟΜΕΙΑ. Collytus, Melite and Diomeia are properly combined in Plutarch Exil. T. viii. p. 372. Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> In Milton's description of Athens (P. R. iv. 283.) the only topographical inaccuracy is the site there assigned to the Lyceum. He places it *within* instead of *without* the walls.



which, as its language and the character of the letters clearly evince, must have been engraved a century and a half at least after the battle of Marathon; soon after which the Pœcile was built.

The part of this inscription which is still legible is as follows:

ΟΥ ΤΑΔΕ ΘΕΛΞΙΜΕΛΗΣ ΑΜΦΙΟΝΙΣ ΗΡΑΤΟ ΜΟΥΣΑ  
ΟΥΔΕ ΚΥΚΛΩΠΕΙΑΣ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΕΛΑΣΣΕ ΒΙΑ.

*Nor Cyclopean hand with labour strong  
This pile did raise, nor Amphionian song.*

We may conjecture from the style of this distich that the building on which it appears had been the school of some recent sophist, rather than the Stoic Pœcile.

In fact, the Pœcile stood at the northern entrance of the Agora. A building decorated with the splendid representations of Athenian heroism, as the Pœcile was, would naturally be placed in the most illustrious part of the city. Æschines, too, refers his hearers to the Pœcile for the memorials of their ancestral glory; and he adds, that they have only to descend in imagination into the <sup>1</sup> Agora to visit them there. Hence, too, as standing in the most splendid quarter of Athens, the Pœcile was chosen as the spot in which the Spartan shields taken at <sup>2</sup> Pylos were suspended as trophies.

We may place the Pœcile at the northern entrance of the <sup>3</sup> Agora; for it stood near the Temple of Hephæstus,

<sup>1</sup> Æschin. c. Ctes. p. 163. προσέλθετε τῇ διανοίᾳ εἰς τὴν Ποικίλην, πάντων γὰρ ὑμῶν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀνάκειται.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. i. 15. 4. These shields were preserved there with great care, being ἐπαληθιμμέναι πίσσῃ, μὴ σφᾶς ὅ τε χρόνος λυμαίνεται καὶ ὁ ἴος, when they were seen by Pausanias. Cp. Aristoph. Equit. 846.

<sup>3</sup> Meton, the celebrated astronomer, lived near the Pœcile, (Ælian. V. H. xiii. 12.) and near the Colonus in the city. Schol. Arist. Av. 998.



which was in the urban Colonus; and also near the<sup>1</sup> Hermes Agoræus, who guarded the entrance to the Agora.<sup>2</sup>

Thus we have surveyed the principal objects of Athenian topography. From the scattered notices of antiquity, and, from the labours of others in the same field, we have attempted to fit together, as harmoniously as we are able, the separate pieces of the dislocated map. How much of labour, and perhaps of error, we might have been spared, had we been present for a single hour at the Macedonian entertainment, at which the Athenian orator Demades, πρεσβεύσας παρὰ Φίλιππον, καὶ ἐρομένου (τοῦ βασιλέως) ποταπαῖ εἰσιν αἱ Αθῆναι, ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης αὐτὰς κατέγραψε—*when ambassador at Philip's court, and when Philip asked him what sort of a place Athens was, drew a map of it on the table where they were sitting. . . .* But how much of pleasure arising from the inquiry, should we have lost also!

<sup>1</sup> Lucian. Jov. Tragæd. ii. p. 681. Ἑρμῆς ὁ ἀγοραῖος, ὁ παρὰ τὴν Ποικίλην.

<sup>2</sup> Hermog. Invent. c. 2.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

Κἀκεῖνα περὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τούτων ἤκουον, πέπλον μὲν ἀνῆφθαι τῆς νεώς, ἡδίῳ γραφῆς, σὺν οὐρίῳ τῷ κόλπῳ, δραμεῖν δὲ τὴν ναῦν, οὐχ ὑποζυγίων ἀγόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπιγείοις μηχαναῖς ὑπολισθαίνουσιν, ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ ἄρασαν χιλία κώπη, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμεῖψαι τὸ Πελασγικὸν, καὶ κομιζόμενον παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον ἐλθεῖν, οἷ νῦν ὥρμισται.

PHILOSTRAT. *Vit. Herod. Soph.* 11.

*I have heard this description of the Panathenaic festival : they tell me that a Peplos, more lovely than a picture, was hung from the ship wafted by its swelling bosom ; that the ship sailed along, not drawn by animals, but gliding secretly on machinery passing over the ground ; that it was launched at the Cerameicus with crowded sail, and made for the Eleusinium ; that it doubled this point and passed the Pelasgicum, and then hove to, at the Pythium, where it is now moored.*

WE may make an application of the preceding observations on the topography of Athens, by endeavouring to trace the route of the Panathenaic procession. The principal feature in it was the Panathenaic Peplos—a wonderful work of embroidery, perhaps bearing some resemblance to the Gobelin tapestry of modern times—which was carried to the Acropolis as a periodic offering to Minerva Polias ; in order that her statue, in her temple, might be invested with it.

The peplos, at the commencement of its course, was hoisted aloft<sup>1</sup> with cables, like a ship's sail, on a horizontal

<sup>1</sup> Hence its motion is described by a nautical term. Plat. *Euthyph.* p. 6. c. ὁ πέπλος ἀνάγεται εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.



bar attached to the summit of a vertical mast: in this position it moved above the heads of admiring multitudes, with its variegated tissue of battles, of chariots and horses, gods and giants, floating in the air.

Such was the principal feature of this procession in the best days of Athens. In later times,<sup>1</sup> when a fantastic ingenuity sought to display itself, even in religious solemnities, it attracted the wonder rather than the veneration of the spectator, by its bold and complex machinery. Then the peplos assumed the character of a real sail: the nautical genius of Athens displayed itself in this its most gorgeous national pageant: the props of the peplos performed the <sup>2</sup> functions of a yard-arm and a mast: its cables were converted into rigging: and the whole equipage was planted

<sup>1</sup> Philostrat. v. Herod. as above.

<sup>2</sup> This is asserted here on the authority of an extract from Strattis, the comic poet, (preserved by Harpocrat. v. τοπεῖον), in which it is shown below that the Panathenaic Peplos is alluded to: Harpocratio there says,

τοπεῖα τὰ σχοινία. Στράττις Μακεδόσι  
τὸν Πέπλον δὲ τοῦτον ἔλκουσιν δονεύοντες τοπέοις  
ἄνδρες ἀναρίθμητοι  
εἰς ἄκρον, ὥσπερ ἱστῖον, τὸν ἱστόν.

So the last words of these verses should, I think be written, instead of ἱστῖον τὸν εἰς τόν. . . as the words stand in all the editions: for the vertical *mast* which supported the Panathenaic *peplos* was called ἱστός, (see Phot. Lex. v. ἱστός καὶ κεραία, and Bekker. Anecd. p. 267. 5.) and the transverse one was termed κεραία. The gloss referred to is, ἱστός τὸ ἐπίμηκες ξύλον ἄνω τεταμένον, κεραία δὲ τὰ πλάγια, ὥστε γενέσθαι γράμμα τὸ ταῦ, (i. e. in this form, T), διετείνετο δὲ πολλάκις ὁ τῆς Αθηνᾶς πέπλος εἰς τοιοῦτο σχῆμα ξύλων καὶ ἐπόμπευσεν. Strattis meant to say, that the crowd draws the peplos along, hauling it up with ropes to the top of its masts like a sail. (Since writing the above, I have found the following note on the article in Harpocratio, in Dobree's Adversaria, i. p. 589: "τοπεῖον. Stratt. Legerim τὸν ἱστόν —Sed non expedit. —Qu. —εἰς ἄκρον τιν' ὥσπερ ἱστόν *aliquem quasi malum.*")



on a stately ship, which sailed on secret wheels, wafted along by the gale filling the bosom of its sail.<sup>1</sup>

The magnificent ship-like car, with all its splendid accoutrements, in which Santa Rosalia now makes her annual solemn procession through the gates and streets of the maritime city of Palermo, presents no doubt a striking resemblance of that which once sailed through the city of Athens at the Panathenaic festival. The correspondence in other respects—as the season of the year chosen for their celebration, and in the diversions by which they were enlivened—between the Athenian and Sicilian solemnity, is also worthy of notice.<sup>2</sup>

The Panathenaic procession, with its magnificent Peplos stretched on a *cross-like* mast, may perhaps be regarded even in a Christian light. It may be considered as an *unconscious* emblem of the consecration of earthly history and glory and majesty to the Cross, if we may so speak; as a prophetic crusade. The types of Christianity which are supplied by *Jewish* laws and customs have been duly examined and illustrated; but those that may be traced even in heathen rites and solemnities have scarcely received any notice. This is a *res intacta*, and a noble one it is. *Here*, too, (may we not say?) are *θεοί*.<sup>3</sup>

The particular route which was chosen for the progress of the Panathenaic Procession through the Athenian City, was

<sup>1</sup> It was sometimes subject to nautical disasters. Plutarch v. Demetr. *πεμπόμενος διὰ τοῦ κεραμεικοῦ μέσος ἑρράγη θυέλλης ἐμπεσούσης.*

<sup>2</sup> St. Non, *Voyage de la Sicile*, iv. p. 144. See the representation of the car in Capt. W. H. Smyth's *Sicily*, p. 85. The 9th to 13th of July are occupied by the festival of S. Rosalia. The great Panathenæa were celebrated on the 28th of Hecatombæon. Cp. Clinton, F.H. p. 325.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S. Ignat. Ephes. S. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. c. 55, p. 76, ed. Bened. and Tertull. *Apol.* c. 16. Minuc. Felic. quoted in the author's volume on S. Hippolytus, p. 304. Bp. Pearson on the Creed, ii. 255, Art. iv.



dictated no doubt by the characteristic suggestions of Athenian taste. It was directed by the national feeling and popular voice to pass through the most splendid streets of Athens, to spread itself abroad in the noblest squares, to visit the most august temples, to display a new and pompous spectacle to the Theatre, and to pause at last in the highest and proudest spot in the city—in a word, after its festal voyage, to anchor in the Acropolis. Its itinerary therefore may serve us as a guide to conduct us through Athens in the most advantageous way.

Let us take our station with it at its commencement, at the north-west of the city, a little outside the walls, and at the point where <sup>1</sup> Hippias was engaged in marshalling this procession, when his brother Hipparchus fell near the Leocorium in the inner Cerameicus: let us follow it into the city by the Dipylum: it passes along an avenue formed by the two <sup>2</sup> parallel arcades, which have been already described as leading to the Agora, and traverses the circle of the <sup>3</sup> Agora between the Areopagus and the Pnyx: it enters the valley of Limnæ lying on the south of the Acropolis, it passes beneath the Theatre, and at length reaches the <sup>4</sup> Eleusinium: this is the point of curvature in its course. It now tends westward, <sup>5</sup> coasting the northern rocks of the Acropolis, and ascends the Acropolis by the

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. vi. 57.      <sup>2</sup> Bekker. Anecd. i. p. 222. v. Βασιλείος στοά.

<sup>3</sup> Bekker. Anecd. i. p. 242. v. δρῶν φέρειν διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Compare Himerius quoted by Schneider Xen. Mag. Eq. c. 3. and Menander p. 165. Meineke.

<sup>4</sup> Suid. v. πέπλος—μεχρὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου.

<sup>5</sup> Hence Virgil has imagined a convenient shifting of the wind to aid it on its course. Ciris. v. 21. sq.

Sed magno intexens, si fas est dicere, *Peplo*  
Qualis Erectheis olim portatur *Athenis*  
Cum levis *alterno Zephyrus* concrebuit *Euro*,  
Et prono gravidum provexit pondere *Currum*.



grand western entrance through the marble portals of the Propylæa. Here the procession halts. The Peplos is then carried to its destination in the Temple of Minerva Polias.

An allusion to this movement and destination of the Peplos may, perhaps, be found in the description by Euripides of the progress and dedication to Minerva of the wooden horse in the Trojan Acropolis. (Troad. 517.)

ἀνὰ δ' ἐβόασεν λεῶς  
 Τρωάδος ἀπὸ πέτρας σταθείς·  
 πᾶσα δὲ γέννα Φρυγῶν  
 πρὸς πύλας ὤρμάθη.  
 τίς οὐκ ἔβα νεανίδων  
 τίς οὐ γεραιὸς ἐκ δόμων ;  
 κλωστοῦ δ' ἀμφιβόλοις λίνοισι, ναὺς ὥσ' εἰ  
 σκάφος κελαινὸν εἰς ἔδρανα  
 λάϊνα Παλλάδος θέσαν θεᾶς.

*Standing upon the rocky Citadel  
 Of Troy, the City shouted, and a flood  
 Of Men rushed onward to the Gate :  
 What Virgin then went forth not from her Cell ?  
 What Old Man idly sate ?  
 By twisted Cables tow'd, as sailors moor  
 Some sable Vessel, at the marble shore  
 Of Pallas' Fane at length it anchor'd stood.*

The course of the Peplos through the streets of Athens to the *rock* of the *Acropolis*, the joy with which it was welcomed at the *Propylæa*, the ardour with which it was drawn along in its course, to its final resting-place in the marble shrine of Pallas, are well represented to our imagination in this poetical picture.

But the naval car does not remain here; it descends again into the city toward a temple which stood<sup>1</sup> not far

<sup>1</sup> The ship was seen by Pausanias in a spot near the Areopagus. (i. 29. 1.) But it was preserved in the *Pythium* (Philostrat. V.S. p. 537., or temple



from the western roots of the Acropolis, on the south side of the Areopagus, in the Agora. In this temple the vessel was laid up to be exhibited in after-times as an object of admiration to travellers, when it had ceased to perform its festal voyages—as the ducal Barge of Venice, the Bucentoro, in which the Doge solemnised the annual marriage with the sea, is now preserved for the same purpose in the Venetian Arsenal.

of Apollo Pythius : and further, Apollo Pythius was called Apollo Patrous at Athens, Aristid. i. p. 112. ἡ πόλις προσλαβοῦσα ἑαυτῇ πατρῶον Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Πύθιον, and Harpocrat. v. Ἀπόλλων Πατρῶς, ὁ Πύθιος. Cp. Schol. Ar. Av. 1527. and Demost. Coron. 274. 25. Now there was a temple of Apollo *Patrous* at the southern base of the Areopagus. (Pausan. i. 2. 5.) As the Father-Deity of Athens he was properly placed in the Agora : (Pseudo-Plut. v. Lycurg.) βωμὸς Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, and near the Metroum : the ship was seen by Pausanias near this spot. This temple, therefore, I conceive to have been the *Pythium*, in which the Panathenaic ship was preserved.

There were two other temples called by the same name, *Pythium*, which are not to be confounded with this : one stood near another Metroum . . . for the connection of these two deities is as usual as it is natural . . . on the right bank of the Ilissus, in the region termed Agræ, (Pausan. i. 19.) probably the *Pythium* of Thucyd. ii. 14. The other was on Mount Parnes not far from Phyle. Strabo. 404. C. and 392. C. Φιλόχορος τὴν Νισαίαν, or (the eastern Megaric boundary) ἀπὸ ἰσθμοῦ μεχρὶ Πυθίου διήκειν φησίν. See Müller Dorians. i. p. 267.

At Athens, in the church of Παπάντη (200 yards below the grotto of Pan under the Acropolis), I saw a fragment of an inscription which perhaps came from the *Pythium* of which we have first spoken.

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΗΣΑΣ  
ΤΩΙ ΠΥΘΙΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ  
ΤΗΝ ΠΥΘΑΙΔΑ



## CHAPTER XXIV.

Theseæ brachia longa Viæ.

PROPERT. III. 20. 24.

*The outstretch'd arms of the Thesean Way.*

MUCH has been written on the number and direction of the LONG WALLS which stretched from the city of Athens to the sea. For my own part, I do not perceive how we can avoid the conclusion that at the time of the Peloponnesian War—for of *later* times we do not here speak—there were *three* lines of fortification reaching from the walls of the Athenian city to the sea-shore.

Of these three lines, the *two exterior*,—namely, the one extending to the harbour of Phalerum on the south, and the other reaching to the harbour of the Peiræus on the north, were the first<sup>1</sup> erected. As long as *they* stood alone, without a third, they bore the name of “*The Long Walls*.”

But<sup>2</sup> subsequently, when, at the instigation of Pericles, and under the direction of Callicrates, a third, intermediate, line of fortification was drawn toward the sea from the

<sup>1</sup> B.C. 456. Thuc. i. 107. τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχῃ, τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ—the last words are well added to distinguish these pair of μακρὰ τεῖχῃ from that pair which afterwards bore the same name.

<sup>2</sup> After B.C. 445. (Æschin. π. π. p. 51. 57. Andoc. p. 24. 23.) which exactly corresponds with the time in which Pericles began to have the direction of public affairs. Clinton, F. H. B.C. 444.



city, and connected the southern point of the Peiræus with Athens, then this third wall together with the northern wall, seem to have appropriated that title,<sup>1</sup> and to have become peculiarly the *Long Walls*, Τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη; for *they* were the two *longest*; and they were naturally connected as *a pair*, abutting as they did on the *Peiræus*: they were strictly the *legs* of the *Peiræus*,<sup>2</sup> Πειραικὰ σκέλη; for the *other* wall ended at *Phalerum*.

Hence it is that this third or intermediate wall (*i. e.* the southern leg of the Peiræus), and not, as might perhaps have been anticipated, the *Phaleric* one, was termed the *southern wall* (τὸ νότιον τεῖχος); not because it was the most southern of them all, for that it was not, but because it was the more *southern* of the *two Peiraic* walls: for it was considered with respect to the other Peiraic wall alone, which was termed the *northern wall*<sup>3</sup> (τὸ βόρειον τεῖχος.) Hence these Peiraic walls are called the legs, σκέλη as being *two*, and *two only*: hence we hear of “*either* of the two Long Walls,” τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν τὸ ἐκάτερον, for the same reason.

In these cases an abstraction, as it were, is made of the Phaleric, or most <sup>4</sup>southern and shortest wall of the *three*. But when the *middle* wall is considered, as it very rarely is,

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. ii. 13. τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ. The Phaleric wall had therefore now ceased to be regarded as a μακρὸν τεῖχος.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. xxxi. 26. Murus qui brachiis duobus Peiræum Athenis jungit.

<sup>3</sup> This wall was the most important of the three: it was the only one that was guarded in the Peloponnesian war. (Thuc. ii. 13. τὸ ἔξωθεν.) It abutted on the city-wall to the north of the Theseum, not far from the Melitensian gate. Compare Plutarch. Themist. p. 481. Reiske, with Plato Rep. 439. d. which passages prove also that near it were the πύλαι Δημιάδες.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. viii. 10. 4. calls it *twenty stadia*. The length of the two *long walls* (τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ) was *forty*. Thuc. ii. 13. Strabo, p. 606. and Villoison Anecd. i. 55.



with reference not to the northern Peiraic wall alone, but to the Phaleric wall also—as, for instance, when the erection of this middle wall after that of the other two is mentioned—then it is very properly no longer termed the *southern* wall, τὸ νότιον τεῖχος, but the *intermediate* wall, τὸ διὰ μέσου τεῖχος,<sup>1</sup> as lying along between the other two.<sup>2</sup> The reason why, in ordinary cases, the Phaleric wall was neglected in this assignation of names, seems to have been the insignificance of the Phaleric harbour, compared with that of the Peiræus.

By these considerations, all the difficulties which have been occasioned by the varieties of designation by which the Long Walls are characterised, may, perhaps, be satisfactorily removed.

The execution of the *intermediate* wall, commenced by Pericles, seems to have been very dilatory, as was often the case with the construction of public works at Athens. The comic poet <sup>3</sup> Cratinus, remarking on the tardiness of its progress, said that it was then extending itself to the sea by means of long words and prolix sentences, while in act and deed it did not stir an inch :

. . . πάλαι γὰρ αὐτὸ  
Λόγοισι προάγει Περικλέης, ἔργοισι δ' οὐδὲ κινεῖ

. . . for Pericles, an age since,  
In word extends it, though in deed he does not even touch it.

<sup>1</sup> Plato, Gorg. 456. A. Harpocrat. τοῦ διὰ μέσου τείχους. Plutarch, who is very circumstantial on this point, clearly identifies the διὰ μέσου τεῖχος with a μακρὸν τεῖχος. Compare his expression in Vit. Pericl. p. 620. with those in his de Glor. Ath. p. 383. (Reiske.) He agrees with Plato in attributing its commencement to Pericles.

<sup>2</sup> Just as Origen's Polyglot Bible is called *Tetrapla* when no regard is had to any but the *Greek* version, and *Hexapla* when the two Hebrew versions are contemplated also.

<sup>3</sup> Cratin. ap. Plutarch. vii. p. 383. Reiske. vit. Pericl. i. p. 620. of Teleclid. *ibid.* 626. λάϊνα τείχη τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν.



And I cannot but suspect that there is an indirect allusion to some architectural work at Athens, only just executed, in the minute detail of the processes of masonry adopted by the Birds in the construction of *The Long Walls* of their own City, which was a parody of Athens suspended <sup>1</sup> in the air.

If so, the middle wall would not have been completed long before B.C. 414, when that play was acted.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See some of the analogies traced in Süvern's Essay, p. 28. of Mr. W. R. Hamilton's translation.

<sup>2</sup> The following are the details of an excursion from Athens towards the south-west, made with a view of tracing the vestiges of the long walls.

H. MIN.

At VIII. 45. (A. M.) leave the temple of Theseus.

IX. On brow of Pnyx hill.

4. Walls there, abutting on κύκλος ἄσπερος.

20. Cross Ilissus.

30. Fall into road to Phalerum.

37. Vestiges of long wall (the Phaleric ?) of a hard coarse pudding-stone.

42. Other vestiges.

x. Church on r. Blocks : from wall ? pass over a low ridge ; cistern : Marsh. Bear to right, and find a wall, (τὸ διὰ μέσου τεῖχος ?) of white and soft Phaleric stone : bear further to the north : after 219 paces come to another similar wall of soft Phaleric stone. These two the Πειραικὰ σκέλη.

39. Cross over the middle wall : proceed toward the N.E. of Phalerum : go along the flat beach toward the eastern point of Phalerum : here the apex of Mount Lycabettus is seen just over the Propylæa.

xi. At eastern foot of Phaleric hill. Gate of Phalerum : descend over rocky hill to the eastern χήλη of the Phaleric harbour : the substructions of this χήλη are very massive : breadth of its wall from 8 to 10 yards : some of the blocks of stone 11 feet long : attached to it, a tower, 12 yards square : further on, 60 paces, another tower, at the extremity of the χήλη, to defend the entrance. Pass along the brink of the harbour toward the western χήλη : At a distance of 200 paces, near the μυχὸς, are vestiges of wall skirting the harbour ; at 450 from this point, is western χήλη.



The beauty of the Phaleric basin is very remarkable. There are fewer vestiges on the Phaleric hill than on that of Munychia.

Upon the whole, I should conclude, from our observations this morning, that the traces of the long wall which we saw on the south of the Ilissus, are too far to the south of the line of the Peiraic σκέλη, to have any connexion with either of them. The former also is of a different stone : it tends to the east of Phalerum, and is probably lost in the Phaleric marsh. Compare Plut. v. Cimon. Cap. 13. p. 202. εἰς τόπους ἐλώδεις τῶν ἔργων ἐμπεσόντων, ἐρεισθῆναι διὰ Κίμωνος, χάλικι πολλῇ καὶ λίθοις βαρέσι τῶν ἐλῶν πιεσθέντων.

A very interesting inscription was discovered at Athens in 1829, which exhibits a public contract with certain individuals for the repair of the Long Walls. This inscription is inserted in the Bullettino dell' Instituto Archeologico di Roma, 1835, pp. 49—64. It says nothing of the repair of the *Phaleric* Wall, while it specifies both the northern and the southern ones.

Dr. Ulrichs has published a valuable paper on the Harbours and Walls of Athens, which has been translated into English by Mr. E. P. Colquhoun of St. John's College, Cambridge. The engraved plan here inserted is partly derived from that Memoir.



## CHAPTER XXV.

Nympharum Domus.

VIRGIL.

DEC. 27.

THIS evening we spent some time in a grotto on Mount Hymettus. It is about twelve miles from Athens, on the way to Sunium, and near the village of Bári, the ancient Anagyrus.

It is a natural subterranean cave, entered by a descent of a few stone steps, from which access the interior is dimly lighted: it is vaulted with fretted stone, and the rocky roof is gracefully hung with stalactites.

There are some ancient inscriptions engraved on the rock near the entrance. From one of these we learn that the grotto was sacred to the Nymphs. Another inscription admits the sylvan Pan, and the rural Graces, to a share in the same residence. The pastoral Apollo is likewise united with them in another sentence of the same kind.

The Attic shepherd to whose labour the cave was indebted for its simple furniture, is also mentioned in other inscriptions here. His figure, dressed in the short shepherd's tunic (*βαίρα*), and with a hammer and chisel in his hands, with which he is chipping the side of the cave, is rudely sculptured on its rocky wall.

To the traveller who comes here from the magnificent



fabrics of Athenian worship now lying in ruins in the city of Athens, this simple grotto—a natural temple on a solitary mountain dedicated to natural deities—will be an object of much interest. Here are no ruins. Time has exerted no power here. The integrity of the grotto has not been impaired by lapse of years. When left alone in the faint light of this cavern, and looking on these inscriptions which declare the former sanctity of the place, and on the basins scooped in the rock from which the sacred libations were made, and the limpid well in the cave's recess from which water was supplied for those libations to the rural deities—and with no other objects about us to disturb the impression which these produce—we might almost imagine that some shepherd of Attica had just left the spot, and that he would return before evening from his neighbouring sheep-fold on Hymettus, with an offering to Pan from his flock, or with the spoils of the mountain-chase, or with the first flowers which at this season of the year have just peeped forth in his rural garden.<sup>1</sup> And if we might pursue this fancy further, we might imagine him coming here with pastoral pipe and crook in his hand, pouring forth his feelings in a simple strain, such as the following :—

<sup>2</sup> Σπήλυγγες Νυμφῶν εὐπίδακες, αἱ τόσον ὕδωρ  
εἴβουσai σκολιού τοῦδε κατὰ πρέονος,

<sup>1</sup> The offerings with which the sides of this cave were once hung, are thus rurally described in a picture of a pastoral grotto, similar to the present : (by Longus, Pastoral, i. p. 5. Villos), ἀνέκειντο δὲ γαυλοὶ καὶ αὐλοὶ πλάγιοι καὶ σύριγγες καὶ κάλαμοι, πρεσβυτέρων ποιμένων ἀναθήματα ; where I would suggest that γαυλοὶ should be altered into αὐλοὶ. Compare Theocritus, xx. 29.

κῆν αὐλῶ λαλέω, κῆν δῶνακι, κῆν πλαγιαύλῳ.

Liquids were offered in γαυλοὶ, (Theoc. v. 58.) but the γαυλοὶ themselves were not hung up as ἀναθήματα.

<sup>2</sup> Crinagor. Anthol. i. p. 269. Jacobs.



Πανός τ' ἤχῃεσσα πιτυστέπτοιο καλιῇ,  
 τὴν ὑπὸ βησσάιης ποσσὶ λέλογχε πέτρης,  
 αὐταί θ' ἰλήκοιτε καὶ εὐθήροιο δέχεσθε  
 Σωσάνδρου ταχυνῆς σκῦλ' ἐλαφοσσοῖης. . .

*Grot of the Nymphs, where from the rocky brow  
 Refreshing streams of liquid crystal flow,  
 Thou echoing Crypt, where pine-crown'd Pan resides,  
 Within the vaulted valley's hollow sides ;  
 Hail, and reward Sosander's rural toil,  
 His chase assist, who gives you of his spoil.*

The Inscriptions engraved on the sides of the grotto, still<sup>1</sup> deserve some notice. The cave is of a horse-shoe form, of which the concave part is the most distant from the entrance. On entering the right-hand arm of this curve, the spectator perceives the following words on his right hand: they are cut on the planed face of the rock there: and the letters are arranged in *rank and file*, στοιχηδόν,—as follows ;

ΑΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΣΟΦ  
 ΗΡΑΙΟΣΟΝΥΜΦ  
 ΟΛΗΠΤΟΣ ΦΡΑΔ  
 ΑΙΣΙΝΥΜΦΟΝΤ  
 ΑΝΤΡΟΝΕΞΗΡΓ  
 ΑΞΑΤΟ.

*Archedemus of Pheræ, the Nympholept,  
 By counsel of the Nymphs, this Grotto formed.*

It may be observed, that though in this inscription the long *ē* is introduced, the long *ō* is not: and that, since the conclusion forms an iambic verse, the last word must be read (not ἐξηργάσατο, but) ἐξηργάξατο, as the vestiges of the inscription themselves suggest; a dialectic<sup>2</sup> license, which is

<sup>1</sup> Even after that which they have received from Boeck. C. Ins. Gr. 456.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Elmsl. Med. 31. not. u. Matthiae. Eur. Iph. A. 406. Cp. ἐνυβρίξης in an inscription, Pashley's Crete, i. 140. We have two other



to be accounted for by the Thessalian origin of Archedemus, by whose hands or in whose honour the inscription was engraved, and who, it appears from one of the inscriptions, had migrated from Pheræ in Thessaly to Attica, where he was enrolled in the demus of the Chollidae, who dwelt, it is possible, near this grotto.

The inconsistency in the orthography of the first syllable of the word Pheræ, the native place of Archedemus, which is observed in comparing this inscription with another in older characters, near the exit of the grotto, where he is described as ὁ Φεραῖος, seems attributable, not to the difference of date in the two inscriptions—for on this supposition, *νυμφῶν* would not have been written, as it is, for *νυμφῶν*—but to another cause. The commencement of the inscription is intended to be poetry, and not prose, as well as the end: and, it being so intended, the form *Φηραῖος* was employed, and not the other, in order to satisfy the conditions of the verse. The sentence then may be thus exhibited as a distich.<sup>1</sup>

dialectic forms, *κᾶπον* and *Ἀρχέδαμος*, in another inscription found in this cave :

Ἀρχέδαμος ὁ Φερ—  
αῖος κᾶπον Νύμφ  
αῖς ἐφύτευσεν.

<sup>1</sup> The metre of the first line is Choriambic.

Ἀρχέ||δῆμος ὁ Φῆ | ραῖος ὁ νύμφ | ὀληπτός.

Cp. Terentian. Maur. iv. 1873, 1893. Mar. Victor, p. 117, ed. Gaisford.

This conjecture that this inscription is intended to be *metrical* is confirmed by the character of the *other two*, which were found here, and of which only the latter now remains on the spot. They are both anapæstic.

(1) *Ἀρχέδη||μος ὁ Φῆρ|αῖος | καὶ Χολ|λείδης | ταῖς Νύμ|φαῖς ᾗ | κοδόμη|σεν :* which is an Aristophanic anapæstic tetrameter, with a trisyllabic base : and (2)

*Ἀρχέδημος||*

*ὁ Φεραῖ|ος κᾶ|πον*

*Νύμφαῖς ἐφύτευ|σεν ;* of which the two latter lines are



Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Φηραῖος ὁ νυμφόληπτος  
φραδαῖσι Νυμφῶν τάντρον ἐξηργάξατο.

*Archedemus of Pheræ, in a nympholepsy,  
By counsel of the Nymphs this cave did execute.*

On the left hand at the entrance is the word **ΧΑΡΙΤΟ** (that is, *Χαρίτων*, *dedicated to the Graces*, and not *χάριτος*) similarly inscribed; and a stone basin beneath it to supply water for libations to the Graces.

Proceeding to the interior, we meet on the right side with another inscription, of which the sense is less intelligible, as the rock in which it is cut is more corroded by time.

ΤΑΝΤΕΛ  
ΣΟΚΥΝ—  
ΚΑΙΤΟ  
ΘΟΝΙ

Having turned to the left round the corner into the other arm of the cave, we see on the left side a horizontal ledge chiselled in the rock, in which two basins, now filled with clear water, are excavated. Here, as in the Nymphæum of Homer,

<sup>1</sup> ἐν δὲ κρητῆρές τε καὶ ἀμφιφορῆες ἔασιν  
λάϊνοι.

*Are basins hewn and amphoras of stone.*

On a perpendicular margin beneath these two basins, two words are inscribed, one under each;

ΑΓΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ : ΕΡΣΟ

hypercatalectic anapaestic monometers. It was perhaps designed, in these metrical prolusions, that the syllables *Αρχε—*, *Αρχεδη—*, *Αρχέδημος*, should thus stand successively as a base *extra metrum*. It may be observed that the word *Νύμφαις* occurs with the article *ταῖς* in one of these inscriptions and not in the other; which is another confirmation of the above conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> Odyss. xiii. 105.



the former of which words enjoins that libations should be made to Apollo, the pastoral or Nomian Apollo, who was here an appropriate deity. Perhaps too his connection with Pheræ, the native place of Archedemus the adorer of this grotto, gave him a stronger claim to a place here. It was in the plains of Pheræ that Apollo exercised his pastoral functions: he there fed the flocks of Admetus the Pheræan King,<sup>1</sup>

Θῆσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσας, Θεός περ ὢν.

*With menial fare contented, though a God.*

The name of the second deity is not of so common occurrence. Still the characters are so distinct, and the etymology of the word so significant, that they overcome the doubts arising from the rarity of the word. The second basin was, then, I believe, the property of Ersus (**ΕΡΣΟΥ**). He appears to have been venerated here, as the beneficent<sup>2</sup> power to whose influence—shed like dew (ἔρση) upon the earth,—all rural produce in its infant state, the tender blade, the opening blossom, and the young firstling, were indebted for their preservation and increase.

The mention of this deity furnishes us, I think, with a clue to the interpretation of the former inscription, which from its corroded state seemed too mutilated to warrant such an attempt.

In the first inscription then of all, the word τάντρον occurs: it seems to prepare the mind for an abbreviation occurring,

<sup>1</sup> Eur. Alc. init.

<sup>2</sup> Welcker. *Æschyl. Tril.* p. 240, considers Ἐρσος as a form of Ἔπος, Ἐρως, the principle of increase, and adds, p. 286. Man statt des Regens den Thau setz

Vos date perpetuos teneris sementibus *auctus* (ἔρσας)

die dann der Pallas zum Dank in der *Ersephorien* dargebracht werden. Cp. Buttman. *Lexilog.* ii. p. 170.



as it appears, in this mutilated inscription, which would hardly otherwise have been admissible. The first four letters in this subsequent inscription, may perhaps be an<sup>1</sup> abridgement of τᾶντρον: and as it borrows this word from the first, so may the name of Ersus be supplied from the last. This mutilated inscription may, on these grounds, be restored as follows:

τᾶντ[ρον] Ε ρ  
σου κλύει  
καὶ τῶν χ—  
θονίων

*This Cave belongs to Ersus and the subterranean Deities.*

The deities of the earth (θεοὶ χθόνιοι) might fitly be honoured in this subterranean crypt, by the peasant who lived on the earth's produce, and was reminded by the poet of agriculture to invoke their blessings on his labours,

εὔχεσθαι τε Διὶ χθονίῳ Δημήτερι θ' ἄγνῃ<sup>2</sup>

*And pray to Jove Terrene, and pure Demeter:*

and another poet might have suggested language to be addressed to them and to their associate Pan, in this grotto:

<sup>3</sup> αἰγιβάτῃ τόδε Πανὶ καὶ εὐκάρπῳ Διονύσῳ  
καὶ Διοῖ χθονίῃ ξυνδὺν ἔθηκα γέρας,  
αἰτέομαι δ' αὐτοὺς καλὰ πώεα καὶ καλὸν οἶνον,  
καὶ καλὸν ἀμῆσαι καρπὸν ἀπ' ἀσταχύων.

*To goat-legged Pan, to Bacchus, and the shrine  
Of Ceres the Terrene, this gift I bear;  
O! grant me fleeces white, and mellow wine,  
And corn-fields waving with the loaded ear.*

<sup>1</sup> See an instance of abbreviation in the Elean Inscription. Boeck. p. 29. If the abbreviation is not admissible perhaps the true reading may be ταῦτ' Ἐρσου κλύει.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod O. and D. 457.

<sup>3</sup> Incert. Anthol. i. p. 195. (Jacobs.)



The name of Pan is twice carved in rude letters  
**ΠΑΝΟΣ** on the rock near the exit of the cave.

Νυμφῶν τινῶν ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔοικεν εἶναι  
 —*From the images and votive offerings, it appears to be consecrated to some Nymphs*, is a notice which Plato<sup>1</sup> has left us of another spot, and might well have been applied to this grotto; and what is more, it might perhaps have been applied to it by Plato himself from his own acquaintance with the place.

In early youth, Plato, as we are told by one of his<sup>2</sup> biographers, was carried by his parents up the slopes of Mount *Hymettus*, and conducted by them to a spot which was dedicated TO PAN, THE NYMPHS and THE PASTORAL APOLLO; and offerings were there made by them in his behalf to the tutelary deities of the place.

We may, then, be allowed to indulge a conjecture, that the grotto in which we now are, situated on Mount Hymettus, and dedicated, as these inscriptions carved on its rocky sides evince, TO PAN, APOLLO and the NYMPHS, was witness of that scene, and that we are looking on the same objects as arrested the eye and perhaps inspired a feeling of devotion in the mind of the youthful Plato.

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Phædr. 230. c. Compare his description of the allegorical Cave, Repub. vii. init.

<sup>2</sup> Olympiodor. v. Plat. p. 1. τὸν Πλάτωνα λαβόντες οἱ γονεῖς τεθείκασιν ἐν τῷ Ὑμηττῷ, βουλόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκεῖ Θεοῖς Πανὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι νομίῳ καὶ Νύμφαις θῦσαι.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

Ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὡ πορθμεῦ, καὶ πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι.

LUCIAN. *Contempl.*

*O Ferryman, Cities die as well as Men.*

LAGRONA<sup>1</sup> NEAR SUNIUM, Dec. 28, 1832.

THE present desolation of this country is almost indescribable. Of the numerous Athenian towns and villages which once covered its soil hardly any vestiges remain. It is almost a wilderness. We have not met five persons on the road during a two days' journey on our way from Athens hither.

The natural aspect of this country is as dreary, as its actual condition is desolate. It is bare and dry: there are no fountains or rivulets to refresh it: its surface is broken up into small groups of low rocky hills, on which is scarcely any vegetation but stunted brushwood. Towards SUNIUM we meet with pine-trees, in the thin foliage of which the winter's evening wind sighs with a melancholy tone.

In this scene of loneliness the traveller is more impressed by the appearance of the few traces which he meets of the ancient population, with which this country was formerly

<sup>1</sup> On this name Stuart well remarks, (iii. p. 37. new edit.) "Legrana or Lagriona, perhaps Λαύριον, the *υ* is frequently changed into *γ*; for instance, Ἐγριπὸς from Εὔριπὸς: and the termination *α* is added: for the modern Greeks never finish a word with a consonant."



thronged. The route along which we are riding was once the high road from Athens to LAUREIUM. How many rich convoys and precious freights passed along it! How was it then stirred by the busy hum of men! By it, the silver ore, which had been dug from the Laureian mines by the labour of many thousand slaves, was carried to the city, and thence issued to circulate through the whole civilised world. The stony road over which we are passing is deeply worn by the tracks of the wheels which then rolled along it. In some places, for a considerable distance, the wheels have worked deep grooves in the rock. The road is now a mere mule-path.

This route seems to coincide with what was called in ancient times the SPHETTIAN WAY; the direction of which is an important topic in Attic topography.<sup>1</sup> It was so called as communicating from Athens with the borough of Sphettus. Sphettus, in the mythological language of Attica, was <sup>2</sup>*brother* of Anaphlystus. Sphettus, therefore—for such seems the meaning of the fable—was, probably, near to ANAPHLYSTUS. The site of Anaphlystus is known: its name and position correspond to that of the modern Anáphyso, which is on the western coast of Attica, five miles to the north of Sunium. Again, Sphettus<sup>3</sup> and Anaphlystus were both *sons* of Trœzen. Anaphlystus we know to have stood on one of the points of Attica nearest to the Trœzenian shore. Sphettus, the brother of Anaphlystus, and son of Trœzen, satisfied doubtless the claims of both relations, by occupying a similar and contiguous position to that of Anaphlystus, and facing Trœzen. Hence we

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. v. Thes. p. 26. Reiske. Philochor. ap. Schol. Eur. Hippol. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Steph. Byz. v. Σφηττός and v. Ἀνάφλυστος.

<sup>3</sup> Steph. ubi sup.



may infer, that the Sphettian way is identical with our present route.

Sophocles, in a fragment of his *Ægeus*, gives a detailed account of the division of the Attic territory among the four sons of Pandion, in which he informs us that the *southern* district, that is, the district between Athens and Sunium, fell to the share of Pallas;<sup>1</sup>

τῆς δὲ γῆς τὸ πρὸς νότον  
ὁ σκληρὸς οὗτος καὶ γίγαντας ἐκτρέφων  
εἴληχε Πάλλας. . . .

. . . . The district to the south  
The sturdy Pallas, fosterer of giants,  
Holds as his share . . .

It is observable, that in the narrative which is preserved by another author<sup>2</sup> of the invasion of Athens by this same Pallas, it is particularly specified that the route by which he marched from his own residence to Athens was the *Sphettian* way. This incident confirms our previous conclusion.

We pass the night at Lágrona,<sup>3</sup> in a *metóchi* (μετόχιον), or out-building, belonging to a Greek convent. It consists of an open court with sheds round it: it is now quite deserted, and its walls falling into ruins. All its doors have been torn off from their hinges. The only signs of life near it are owls hooting in the night from the trees about us.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Strabo. 392. C.

<sup>2</sup> Philochor. ap. Schol. Eur. Hippol. 39. Plut. Thes. p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> In our way there we leave on the left, Mount Elymbo, Balmá (on l. at *metochi* *Anáphyso*), with ruins on it, and beyond it Mount Pani with cave, 1½ hour off.

To r. here is Mount Σκωρί: behind is Mount Ιζουρδά: in front of us is Μεσοχώρι, a ridge of low mountains running round Σκωρί: behind is Σαντειρήνα and Θερικό.

To l. just before arriving at Lágrona is Καταφήκη.



## CHAPTER XXVII.

—◆—  
Diva quibus retinens in summis urbibus arces.

CATULL. LXIV. V. 8.

THE Temple of SUNIUM is about five miles to the south of Lágrona. Standing above the shore on a high rocky peninsula, its white columns are visible afar off from the sea. There was something very appropriate in the choice of this position for a temple dedicated to the tutelary goddess of the Athenian soil. Minerva thus appeared to stand in the vestibule of Attica. The same feeling which placed her statue at the gate of the citadel of Athens erected her temple here. In the former situation, however, as the nearer and more vital of the two, she was the Champion (Πρόμαχος) of Athens: while in the more distant, upon the projecting cliff of Sunium, which commands a wider survey, she was called the (ἹΠρόνοια) *Providence* of Attica.

By means of her temple on this promontory her protection was extended, and her power asserted, in the extreme limit of the land. By the belief of her presence here, reaching to this point from her residence in the Acropolis at Athens, Sunium was connected with Athens; it became, in common language, a promontory not of Attica, but of Athens, Σούνιον ἄκρον Ἀθηνῶν.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristid. Dind. p. 27. Πρόνοια Ἀθηνᾶ ἐκλήθη. . . ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἡγουν τοῦ Σουνίου. <sup>2</sup> Odyss. iii. 278. Ar. Nub. 400.



A little to the north-east of the peninsula on which the temple stands is a conical hill: here are extensive vestiges of an ancient building: it seems probable that they are remains of a temple, most likely of that dedicated to Neptune, the *Σουνιάρατος*. (Aristoph. Eq. 558.)

The peninsular form of this promontory gave it great advantages as a military post. Its nearness to the mines of Laureium conduced to its prosperity, which passed into a proverb: <sup>1</sup>

πολλοὶ δὲ νῦν μὲν εἰσὶν οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι  
εἰς αὔριον δὲ Σουνιεῖς.

*For many men to-day do quake as slaves,  
Who will to-morrow strut like Sunians.*

It was the principal fortress of this district, and a place of much importance while Athens remained independent.<sup>2</sup> When that city ceased to be so, Sunium sunk speedily into decay. We find <sup>3</sup> Cicero proposing, as a critical question to his correspondent Atticus, whether Sunium did not require before its name in Latin the prefix of a preposition,—which was the “*nigrum theta*” of a ruined town. Some modern traveller, in a spirit of less refined sympathy for its former greatness, has daubed in huge letters on the shaft of one of the columns of its temple the words, “*Hommage des Siècles présents aux Siècles passés, 1818.*”

It was a distance of sixty stadia from Anaphlystus on the western to Thoricus on the eastern shore of the promontory; and Sunium at its extremity is nearly at the same distance of sixty stadia from each of them. Thus these three towns stood at the three angles of an equilateral triangle. We

<sup>1</sup> Anaxand. Athenæi. 263. c.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. 238. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Cicer. ad. Attic. vii. 3. *in* (Sunio), non ut *oppido*, præposui sed ut *loco*. But see Ernest. Ind. *δῆμοι*. It may be said that the *promontory* might be considered a *place*, although the town were *not* decayed.



now pass along the eastern shore towards Thoricos, now Thericó. The hills are scattered over with juniper-bushes. The ground which we tread is strewn with rusty heaps of scoria from the silver <sup>1</sup> ore which once enriched the soil. The silver-source of these mines, which was once "the treasury of the land," is now dried up. On our left is a hill called Scorí, so named from these heaps of scoria with which it is covered. Here the shafts which have been sunk for working the ore are visible, from which the <sup>2</sup> name of this country is derived. These strewn heaps of scoria are a fit emblem of the country itself on which they lie. What with the smelting which it has endured from war, famine, oppression, and pillage by its successive masters, Goths, Greeks, Spaniards, Venetians, and Turks, it has hardly a thin vein of its ancient ore left.

The view of the ancient Theatre at THORICUS affords an agreeable relief to the dismal dreariness of this district. It is a vestige, one of the few which remain, of the pleasures which an Attic village enjoyed in the cheerful seasons of the year. The agreeable landscape, sketched by Juvenal, of an ancient <sup>3</sup> Italian audience collected on the sloping sides of a

<sup>1</sup> And lead also, Aristot. *Œcon.* ii. Πυθοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος Ἀθηναίοις συνεβούλευε τὸν μόλυβδον τὸν ἐκ τῶν ΤΥΡΙΩΝ παραλαμβάνειν, where Boeck (*Diss. de Laurio Econ. Ath.* ii. p. 429. English Translation) proposes to read ΛΑΤΡΙΩΝ: but probably ΑΡΓΥΡΙΩΝ is nearer the true reading. Zenoph. *Vect.* iv. 4. says of the same mines: πῶς ὁρμήσειαν ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ μέταλλα; ἀπέχει γὰρ τῶν ΑΡΓΥΡΙΩΝ ἡ ἐγγύτατα πόλις Μέγαλα, &c.

<sup>2</sup> λαύρα in ancient Greek is a street or lane; λαυρεῖον a place formed of such lanes; i. e. a mine of shafts, cut as it were into streets like a catacomb. Hence in the modern language of Greece, λαύραι (pronounced lávrai) are applied to monasteries, and are "monachorum cellæ quæ cum se junctæ sint, vias et angiportus quodammodo formant." Du-Cange. *Gloss. in v.* Compare Welcker, *Trilog.* p. 212, who refers λαβύρινθος to the same root: to which opinion the modern pronunciation of the word (lávrinthos) would seem naturally to lead. <sup>3</sup> Juvenal, iii. 178.



rural theatre, might have been supplied with a Greek counterpart here. The mimicry of the village Dionysia,<sup>1</sup> which Aristophanes exhibited in his *Acharnians*, was doubtless a frequent reality in this place. Here also we are reminded of another scene which <sup>2</sup>Virgil has drawn from the antique life of the Attic peasantry:

Veteres ineunt *proscenia* ludi,  
Præmiaque ingeniis *pagos* et compita circum  
*Theseidæ* posuere, atque inter pocula læti  
Molibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres . . .

*The ancient Games are ushered on the stage,  
And in Cross-ways and Towns the Attic swains  
Strive for the scenic prize, and cheer'd with wine  
Leap mid the swoll'n smear'd skins on meadows green . . .*

a scene which, no doubt, has often enlivened with mirth and laughter the now void and silent sides of this hollow theatre.<sup>3</sup>

A theatre was an appropriate edifice at Thoricus, for it was in the port of this place that Dionysus, the deity of the Athenian drama, first landed in Attica.

The outline of this theatre is not of a semi-circular form; it is of an irregular curve, nearly resembling the fourth of an ellipse; the longer axis commencing with the stage, and the seats beginning from the lesser axis, and running, in tiers rising above each other, concentrically with the curve. They faced the south. The curved outline of the *κοῖλον* of the theatre formed part of the town-wall: this irregular form was perhaps adopted, as more defensible than any other.

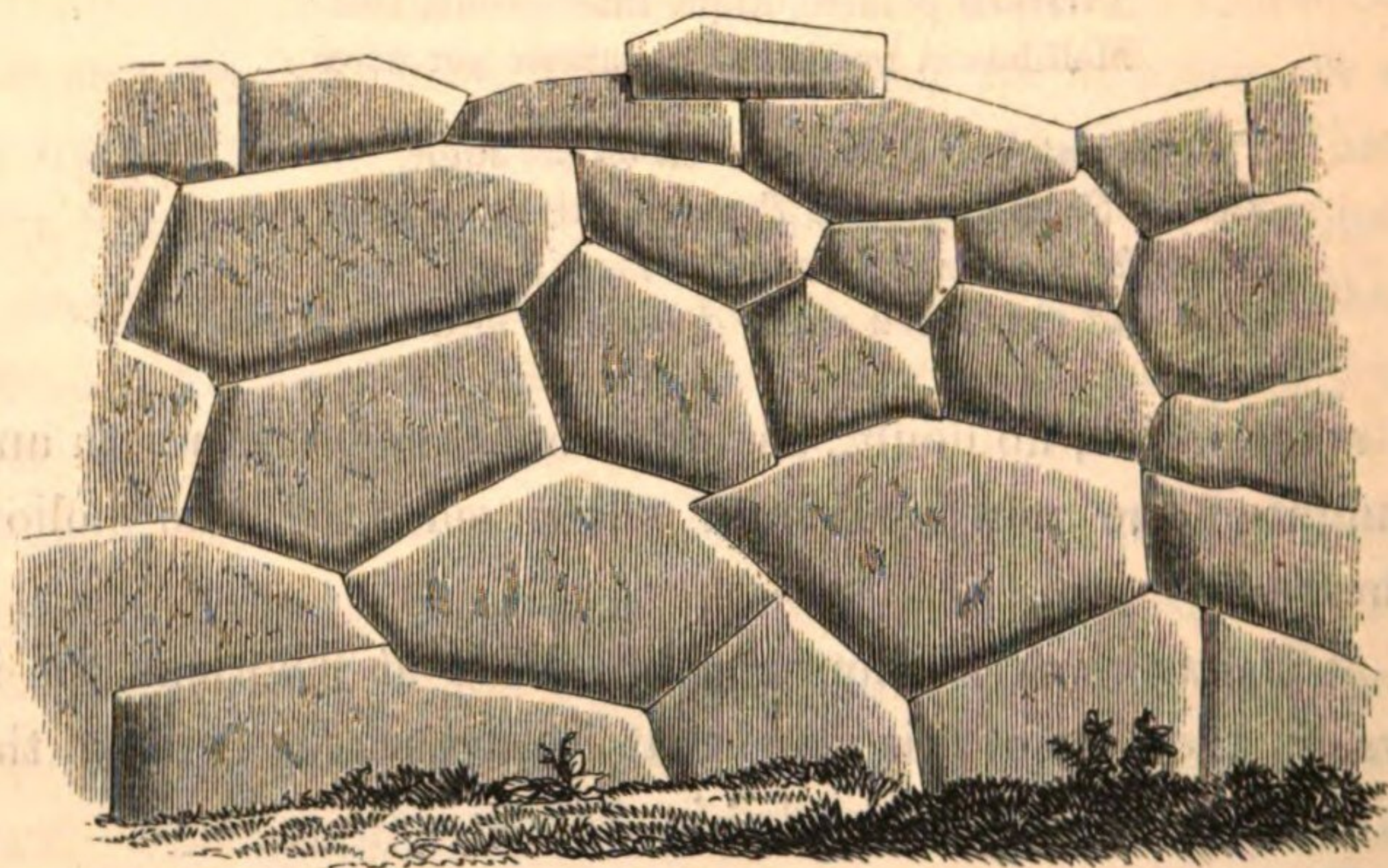
<sup>1</sup> Cp. Ruhnkeniana, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Virg. Georg. ii. 381.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Arist. Plut. 1130. ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θεάτρου ἐτίθεντο ἄσκοις πεφυσημένους, &c. Ruhnk. Tim. v. ἀσκωλιάζω. This theatre bears a strong resemblance to the representation of the theatre on a fictile vase found at Aulis, described by Millin. Vases Antiques, ii. 55, 56. and Stuart, Athens, ii. 86.



In the wall near the theatre is an old postern, surmounted by a pointed arch formed in approaching horizontal courses, in the same manner as the arches in the galleries at Tiryns. We trace the walls of the Acropolis stretching for a considerable extent over two rugged hills, which rise to the north-east of the theatre. The style and massiveness of this postern, and of these walls, afford clear evidence of the great antiquity and local importance of Thoricus.



Polygonal Wall of Mycenæ, from Sir Wm. Gell.

The harbour of Thoricus, now Porto Mandri, lies on the south side of the citadel. It has the reputation of being an excellent place of refuge, both in a northerly and southerly gale: it is a semi-circular bay, half a league in breadth, from north to south: its anchorage is completely sheltered by the long island of Macri, the ancient Helena, which was well described as

Φρουρὰ παρ' ἀκτὴν τεταμένη, νῆσον λέγω  
Ἐλένη τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν βροτοῖς κεκλήσεται.<sup>1</sup>

*Stretch'd as a rampart by the shore, an isle,  
Which shall henceforth the name of Helen bear.*

<sup>1</sup> Eur. Helen. 1689.



There is one great defect here, as in this district generally, the scarcity of fresh water.

Thoricus was principally remarkable, in early Athenian history, as the residence of Cephalus. He died here, and as it seems, while in the prime of life; for Aurora was said to have carried him off from the shores of Attica to dwell with the Gods. Thoricus became famous as the place from which that Athenian hero was removed to a heavenly climate: and with the name of Thoricus was probably associated, in an Athenian's mind, the idea of such an Elysian translation.<sup>1</sup>

A migration of this character was the lot of Œdipus at Colonus.<sup>2</sup> Its description by Sophocles may derive some light from this the *Elysian* character of Thoricus. Œdipus is there represented as standing on the brink of another world. He has reached the brazen threshold, and the rugged descent which is to lead him to it. Near him stands registered the solemn compact which Theseus made with Peirithous, when they took together the same journey on which Œdipus is going alone. There is a marble tomb at

<sup>1</sup> Eur. Hippol. 455.

——— ἀνήρπασεν  
ἡ καλλιφεγγής Κέφαλον εἰς θεοὺς "Εως,  
ἔρωτος οὐνεκ', . . .

from Thoricus, Apollodor. ii. 4. 7. See the representation on the vase in Millin. Gal. Myth. i. p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Œd. Col. 1590.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφῖκτο τὸν καταρράκτην ὁδὸν,  
χαλκοῖς βάθροισι γῆθεν ἐρριζωμένον,  
ἔστη κελεύθων ἐν πολυσχίστων μιᾷ,  
κοίλου πέλας κρατῆρος, οὗ τὰ Θησέως  
Περίθου τε κεῖται πίστ' αἰὲλ ξυνθήματα  
ἀφ' οὗ μέσος στας, τοῦ τε Θορικίου πέτρου,  
κοίλης τ' ἀχέρδου, καπὸ λαΐνου τάφου,  
καθέζετ'. . .



the entrance. All these objects are in character with the place as leading to another state of existence; and their relation to that state is easily perceived. And may it not be suggested that the idea to which I have just alluded, of an Elysian migration, associated with Thoricus from the story of Cephalus its prince, may serve to explain the obscure relation of the *Θορίκιος πέτρος*, *Thorician Stone*, which Sophocles next introduces into the same scene? <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The interpretation adopted by Kruse, (*Hellas*, ii. 1. p. 252.) where he supposes the *Θορίκιος πέτρος* of Sophocles to be a *promontory* at *Thoricus*, had been properly guarded against, even on grammatical grounds, by the remark of Elmsley, l. c. ‘πέτρον male nonnulli *rupem*, quasi *Θορικίας πέτρας* scripserit poeta.’ An observation which bears on the question of the Supremacy claimed from S. Matth. xvi. 18. See Chrysos. S. Matth. xxviii. 18. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, οὐκ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ πέτρῳ. κ. τ. λ.



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

Σὲ δ' ἀμφὶ σεμνὰς, Ἰφιγένεια, κλίμακας  
Βραυρωνίας δεῖ τῇσδε κληδουχεῖν θεᾶς.

EUR. *Iph. T.* 1462.

LEAVING this morning the hut in which we were lodged at Thoricus, we enter a glen between Mount Koróra on the right and Mount Tibári on the left. The country becomes more cheerful as we approach the village of Keratiá. Heaps of scoria still occur near the road-side: a peasant who accompanies us calls it by its ancient name (σκωρία).

These heaps suggest the meaning of the title of a lost comedy by Antiphanes,<sup>1</sup> inscribed *Θορίκιοι, ἢ διορύττων*. Perhaps the Thoricians were satirised in that play, as guilty of unfair dealing, by <sup>2</sup>*piercing through from* their own into their neighbours' shafts in working their mines for the ore, of which the scoria is now visible near their own village.

We leave a hamlet on the left called Metropísi: it lies at the south-east foot of Mount Paní. The Πανείον or grotto of Pan, from which this mountain derives its name, is about

<sup>1</sup> Athenæi, p. 689. e. where Schweighæuser interprets the expression as if it signified *τοιχώρυχοι*, or fossores murorum.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπικατατέμνοντες τῶν μέτρων ἐντός, and συντρήσαντες εἰς τὰ τῶν πλησίον. Demosth. c. Pantæn. p. 977. 7.



half an hour to the west of Keratiá. It contains no ancient remains of interest. Keratiá is about six miles to the north-west of Thoricus.

This village is prettily situated among vineyards. After our lonely journey, the sight of a group of cottages ranged among trees is a very pleasing object. Besides this, there is an appearance of greater comfort and security in this village of Keratiá than we have seen for a long time. There are flocks feeding at liberty in the open fields, under the sides of the hills: and there is no apparent alarm of the military robbers who now infest the other parts of Attica. The women of the village are neatly dressed: the population is Albanian.

There is a church at Keratiá dedicated to S. Demetrius. Cased in its walls I find a large fragment of carved stone with the following metrical inscription, in very ancient characters:

ΜΟΙ ΘΑΝΟΣ ΕΣ ΕΙΜΙ  
ΕΜΑ ΜΥΔΙ: ΝΕΣ

This is an epitaph: by which the monument simply records, speaking in the first person, the name of a woman, whose tomb it is, and the malady of which she died. The fracture of the marble hides from us the last particular: but it may be conjectured, from the above vestiges of the word which remain on the monument, that the malady was a pestilence, *λοιμός*; perhaps even,—to judge from the characters of the inscription, which seem to be nearly contemporary with that event—that it was the same epidemic which made such havoc at Athens at the commencement of the Peloponnesian War.

Hence we may represent the epitaph in an Iambic verse thus:—



*λοιμῶ θανούσης εἰμι σῆμα Μυρίνης.<sup>1</sup>*  
*I am the tomb of Myrrhinē who died of plague.*

This may date from the time of the terrible pestilence at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

After passing through the plain of Keratiá and bearing to the right, we enter a picturesque glade overhung with pines; its sides are furrowed by torrents, and indented with clefts and grottoes, and it runs in an easterly direction toward the sea. On its north side is Merónda, and south of <sup>2</sup> Merónda another spot called Malizé; east of Malizé is Kourúgni, which is a rocky peninsular promontory on the south-east of Port Raptè, which was the harbour of the ancient PRASIÆ. From Merónda a chain of hills stretches westward, and at last intersects the chain of Hymettus: the most remarkable

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we might read οἶμοι, θανούσης εἰμι σῆμα Μυρίνης. But on the whole I incline to λοιμῶ. Compare the epitaph,

*γῆρα θανοῦσαν τάφος ἔχει Φιλοξένην,*

copied by Mr. Hughes at Athens, inserted in Welcker's Sylloge Epigr. p. 23.

Let me take this opportunity of quoting another inscription of a very early date, and similar to that in the text. I copied it at Athens from two separate fragments of stone, found not far from each other.

ΕΜΑΔΘΙ ΟΓΑΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΔΕ  
 ΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΣΤΕΣΙΟΗΘΑΝ  
 ΟΕΣΚΑ †ΕΙ

Which, with the supplementary additions from conjecture, may be thus exhibited in an elegiac distich :

*σῆμα φίλου παιδὸς τόδε Πενθεσίλαος ἔθηκεν  
 Στησίου, ὃν Θάνατος δακρυόεις κατέχει.*

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Μαρώνεια. Bekk. Anec. 279. 32. τόπος Ἀττικῆς, ὅπου τα μέταλλα. Demosth. 967. 17. There must be some error in Fourmont's assignment of his Myrrhinusian inscription to Meronda: (Boeck C. I. i. p. 138.) Myrrhinus stood much further to the north than Meronda. Strabo. 399. a. places it between Brauron and Probalinthus.



of these is that which is called, from its peculiar form, Strongúle (Στρογγύλη). North of it is the plain of Marcópoulo. On Kourúgni we are told that there are ruins of ancient date : near the western side of this harbour of Prasiæ rises Mount Maleventi ; on its north-west extremity is Mount Trivala, on which is a small chapel of S. Nicolas ; on the northern brink is Mount Peraté (Περατή), under which stands a church of S. Spyridhon.

The western branch still bears the name of Prasà, which leaves no doubt, together with other proofs, that its site is identical with that of the ancient Prasiæ, and that the ancient fragments which are still visible on the north-west shore of the bay, are vestiges of that city. From the ancient pier, which is now washed by the sea, sacred processions once embarked on their voyage to Delos.

The harbour is an excellent one, both in size and depth : it is the best on the eastern coast of Attica. Its entrance is rather more than a mile in breadth ; in the centre of the entrance is the rocky islet on which stands the marble statue, from the attitude of which the port derives its present name. The statue is a mile from the central point of the shore of the harbour.

We enter the church dedicated to S. Nicolas on the beach of PORTO RAPHTÈ. It is now nearly filled with βαλανίδια, or acorns of the quercus ægilops, which grows here in abundance. In the harbour lies a vessel which has just arrived from the island of Ceos (Zia), which will carry these acorns to Constantinople, to be used as a mordant for dyeing black. The vessel is freighted with barley (κριθάρι), which it exchanges for this commodity.

It is an hour's walk from Prasiæ to BRAURON : we pass some ruins on our way thither, which are those of the ancient STEIRIA.



Here the country is of a very pleasing character. A little before arriving at Braóna (a name derived from Brauron) we cross a picturesque hill fringed with wood, beneath which runs a pretty stream, probably the ERASINUS. It is edged with a line of white poplars. Beneath them, by the side of the stream, is a garden of fruit and vegetables—which is a rare sight in this country. To our left is a grey square tower on a hill. The landscape is softened by the quiet light of the evening, which is now coming on. Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, was brought here, as the legend related, from the gloomy regions of the Taurica Chersonesus, and placed as a priestess of Diana's temple in this cheerful valley, where she was said to have lived and died; and where her supposed tomb was shown in after ages. This scene is worthy the pencil of Claude.

In a little more than an hour from <sup>2</sup> Braóna, we reach Marcópoulo, a village on the south-west; and here we spend the night. Our lodging is an Albanian cottage. The family consists of the mistress of the house and her two sons, who have now with them some visitors from the village. As we approach the doorway they are going to sit down to their supper, and they invite us to enter. In a few minutes the members of the family have taken their seats on the clay-floor round a low round table, on which is a large bowl of gurgouti, or porridge, to which each guest

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. Iph. T. 1461.

<sup>2</sup> From Braóna a village is visible, lying at about two miles distance to the north, another almost double the distance, in nearly the same direction. They are called Bála and Spata. Their names suggest the conjecture that they may have succeeded to the Attic demi Kephalaë, and Prospalta. Further north, and near to Marathon, were the demi of Plotheis and Semachidæ (Boeck. Insc. i. p. 122). At Kephalaë was a Temple of Venus; for Κεφαλαῖσιν is to be written instead of Κεφαλαίωσιν (i. e. Κεφαλαῖσιν or Κεφαλῆσιν,) in Isæus. p. 24. Bekker. Philaidæ seems to have been Brauron, Plutarch. v. Solon. p. 332. Reiske.



helps himself by dipping his bread into the bowl. The mistress of the house pours out the wine, and hands it to the guests, who acknowledge the attention by complimentary speeches, to herself and family, in the same spirit and character as Minerva does in the *Odyssey* to her hosts, Nestor and his son, on a similar occasion.

When supper is over, the youngest son, a boy about twelve years old, rises and turns his face to the wall of the cottage and towards a sacred picture hanging upon it: he then takes off his red scull-cap, and standing before the picture, begins to repeat some prayers in Greek, which he follows by the recital of the Creed, and concludes with frequent repetitions of *Κύριε ἐλέησον*. These are the domestic vespers—a delightful sight, showing that four centuries of cruel bondage under an infidel despotism have not quenched the sacred flame of piety in this much injured land. They then retire to rest.

The youth who conducted the devotions of the family showed us the way to a church in the village, and when one of the party was proceeding from the nave of the church to enter into the chancel, or *ἅγιον βῆμα*, deterred him from doing so by warning him that it was a hallowed place,

... ἐκ τῆσδ' ἑδρας  
ἔξελθ', ἔχεις γὰρ χῶρον οὐχ ἅγνον πατεῖν ...

and that those alone who were ministers of the church might enter there.

The elder brother of this boy is a youth of sixteen. He has just been married. His bride is now staying in the village of *Lópes*, which is near. She is said to be very beautiful: the expression by which they describe to us her beauty, is remarkable. "Yes, he is married," say they, "and his wife is so lovely a person, that you would take



her picture." Εἶναι ὑπανδρευμένος, καὶ ἡ νύμφη του εἶναι τόσον εὐμόρφη, νὰ τὴν γράψῃς. It is an expression which could hardly have been suggested by the rude lineaments or colouring of the modern paintings of this country. It may have remained in the language from a deep-felt influence of ancient art.

Marcópoulo is situated near the central point of that district of Attica which still retains its ancient name of "Mesogæa," or "Midland." Whether one of the 174<sup>1</sup> demi or boroughs, which once peopled the soil of Attica, stood on its site, cannot now be determined from any vestiges on the spot. It appears however to have served as the central point of resort to one of the 360 clans (γένη)<sup>2</sup> into which the 12 curiæ (φρατρίαι), or whole free population of Attica, were divided. This fact may be inferred from the following inscription, copied at Marcópoulo.

<sup>1</sup> Cleisthenes, to whom the demi owed their existence, or at least their arrangement in the tribes, (Herod. v. 66—69. Schömann de Comitibus, p. 364.) in order to ingratiate himself with the popular party, incorporated in his tribes both foreigners and those resident aliens who had been excluded from the old tribes by his predecessor. There is a difficult passage in Aristot. Politic. iii. 2. Κλεισθενὴς μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράννων ἐκβολὴν πολλοὺς ἐφυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ ΔΟΥΛΟΥΣ μετοίκους, as the text now stands in all the editions. May we not propose to read here ΑΦΥΛΟΥΣ μετοίκους? In Plutarch (P. Æmil. i.) the words σύμφυλα and ἄφυλα are contrasted in the same way as I conceive φυλετεύω and ἀφύλους to be here. Compare Cic. Orat. i. 9. Tib. Gracchus libertinos in urbanas tribus transtulit; and Schol. Cruqu. ad Horat. Sat. ii. 5. 15, *libertinus*; nam sine *gente* libertini.

<sup>2</sup> Of these two co-ordinate divisions, that into φυλαὶ and δῆμοι was of a political, that into φρατρίαι and γένη of a religious and domestic character. Cp. Meier de Gentilitate Attica, p. 10 and 14.



**Ε**ΠΑΜΕΙΝΩΝ ΑΜΕΙΝΙΟΥ ΕΙΡΕΝ ΕΓΕΙΔΗ ΤΙ-  
 ΝΕΣ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΤΩΙ ΟΡΚΟΙ ΟΝ ΩΜΟΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΙ  
 ΑΡΑΙ ΗΝ ΕΙΚΑΔΕΥΣ ΕΓΗΡΑΣΑΤΟ ΔΙΑΤΕΛ  
 ΟΥΣΙ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΤΑ Ε  
 5 ΙΚΑΔΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΘΛΑΘΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ  
 ΕΙΚΑΔΕΩΝ ΑΦ ΩΝ ΤΑ ΙΕΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ Θ  
 ΥΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΙΚΑΔΕΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΔΙΚΑΖΟΜΕΝ-  
 ΟΙΣ ΕΙΚΑΔΕΥΣΙΝ ΣΥΝΔΙΚΟΥΣΙΝ ΥΓΕ  
 ΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΙΚΑΔΕΥΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΜΑΡ  
 10 ΤΥΡΗΚΑΣΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ Ε  
 ΠΙ ΘΛΑΘΕΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΙΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΚΑΔΕΩΝ  
 ΨΕΥΔΕΙΣ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΣ ΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΡΕΙΣ  
 ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΗΔΗ ΕΞ ΕΙΚΑΔΕΩΝ ΟΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ  
 ΣΥΝΑΓΩΝΙΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΕΓΕΣΚΗΜΜΕΝ-  
 15 ΩΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΩΙ ΟΠΩ  
 Σ ΑΝ ΔΙΚΗΝ ΔΙΔΩΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΤΑ ΨΕΥΔΗ ΜΑΡΤ  
 ΥΡΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΑΙ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΝ  
 ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑΙ ΧΡΥΣΕΩΙ ΣΤ  
 ΕΦΑΝΩΙ ΟΤΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑ ΚΟΙ-  
 20 ΝΑ ΤΑ ΕΙΚΑΔΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΕΣΚΗΨΑΤΟ ΤΟΙΣ  
 ΜΑΡΤΥΣΙΝ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΨΗΦΙΣ  
 ΜΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΦΗΓΗΣΙΟΥ ΑΡ  
 ΧΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΣΤΗΛΗΝ ΛΙΘΙΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΣ  
 ΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΙΕΡΩΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑ  
 25 ΡΝΗΣΣΙΟΥ<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This inscription admits of much more copious illustration than is appropriate in this place. The *Εἰκαδεῖς* v. 5. are probably connected with the *τριακάδες*, into which the *φρατρίαι* and *γέννη* were divided (cf. Hesych. v. *τριακάς* and *ἀτριάκαστοι*, and Meier. l. c. p. 21). On the similarity and confusion of *θ* and *β* (v. 4.) see Bast, Comment. Pal. p. 709. The judicial words *συνδικεῖν* and *ἐπίσκηψις* are illustrated, the former, in a restricted sense, by Elmsl. Eur. Med. 155; the latter, by Bentley on Phalaris, p. 267. These religious corporations, of which the Eikadensian was one, are noticed incidentally in Theophrast. Char. xi. 5. Cp. Meier. p. 34. The *ἐφηγήσιος ἄρχων* (v. 22.) was superintendent of the *ἐφηγήσεις*, which were properly suits against the harbourers of outlaws. Suidas v.



*Epameinon, the son of Ameinias, made this motion: Since certain individuals continue to act and speak against the Eikadenses at variance with their oath, and with the imprecation which Eikadeus uttered, to the detriment of the common property of the Eikadenses, from which property the Eikadenses offer their sacrifices to the Gods, and since they abet indictments against the Eikadenses, and have given evidence falsely in the Court, to the detriment of the Corporation of the Eikadenses; (that it be decreed) to elect three individuals forthwith, from the Eikadenses, to co-operate with Polyxenus, who has impeached this evidence of perjury, in order that the false witnesses may be brought to punishment; and to eulogize Polyxenus, the son of Diodorus, for his probity with respect to the Corporation of the Eikadenses, and because he brought an action of perjury against the witnesses; and that the magistrates of the Office of Information should subscribe this decree on a marble slab, and erect it in the Temple of the Parnessian Apollo.*

ἐφηγήσεις. Wachsmuth. ii. 294. In v. 25. we have the decision of the question concerning the orthography of Παρνήσιος, which is canvassed by Elmsl. Acharn. 348.

I take this opportunity of quoting from another inscription, copied at Athens, another illustration of the text of this same play. In this inscription, which consists of about fifty Athenian names, occur the words

## ΛΑΚΡΑΤΕΙΔΗΣ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΙΚΑΡΙΕΥΣ

proving, against the more recent English editor, that Bentley was right in substituting the first word for the unmetrical form of it which is found in all the editions of the Acharnians v. 220. Since this was written, the inscription has been printed at full length, by M. Pittakys, *Athènes*, p. 145.



## CHAPTER XXIX.

παρδακὸν τὸ χωρίον.

ARISTOPH. *Pac.* 1148.

*Fields are dank and roads are mire.*

MILTON.

DEC. 30.

MARCOPOULO is six hours, or about twenty miles, from Athens. The showery season has now set in, and our ride is accompanied by violent and incessant rain. The road lies along a shrubby plain, leaving the path to Brauron, and a village called Hieráka, on the right; passes between two villages, Kokla and Lópesa; the latter being on the left. In a church at this point is a sepulchral bas-relief, inscribed with the name **ΑΡΤΙΜΑΣ**. Here are vestiges of an ancient village. The name of the hamlet on the right suggests that it may have been the site of the borough called<sup>1</sup> Kykala.

At a distance of three miles further, and eight from Marcópoulo, we leave to the right the villages of Kangiá and Leontári. The latter, no doubt, derives its name from the colossal lion, or λεοντάρι, of white marble, which lies here near the road, by the Church of S. Nicolas. This was perhaps a trophy to commemorate a victory; for which

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. Κύκαλα: δῆμος Λιαντίδος φυλῆς.



purpose the statue of a lion was often employed. The peasants look on this huge figure with a feeling of awe, which thus expresses itself in the mouth of a countryman, who informs us that τὸ μεγάλο θηρίον ἔχει τὴν φωλεάν του ἐπάνω εἰς τὰ βουνὰ, *The monster has a den on the mountains*, pointing to the heights of Hymettus, from which he descends to hunt his prey in the plains beneath.

The whole of this district, to judge from the remains of ancient buildings which occur here, was once thickly peopled. The Mesogæa, being one of the most fertile parts of Attica, was likely to have a dense population.<sup>1</sup>

At an hour and a half from Kangiá is seen a tower on a hill, near the village of Krabáta: whence a road converges toward that we are now treading, (which probably coincides with the old Steirian road<sup>2</sup>), and falls into it at a point called, from that circumstance, the Cross, (σταυρό). Here we find a Turkish guard stationed, for the purpose of protecting the peasants who are coming from their villages to the Athenian market; for this is market-day at Athens. We now turn to the left, and approach Athens by the same way as we first entered it.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo. 399. c. τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ δήμους τῆς Αττικῆς μακρὸν εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος.

<sup>2</sup> Στεيرياκὴ ὁδός. (Plato) Hipparch. 229. a.



## CHAPTER XXX.

παλαιὸν εἰς ἵχνος μετέσταν.

ÆSCH. *Suppl.* 533.

*I turn aside*

*To trace the footsteps left by ancient Time.*

JAN. 7.

WE walk to-day from Athens in a north-easterly direction towards Mount Pentelicus. All the villages among which we pass have suffered from the depredations committed upon them by the soldiers of the Greek chief, Captain Vassos : most of them are deserted.

Our route lies through the plain of Athens, and extends as far as CEPHISSIÁ, the pleasant village which Herodes Atticus chose for his summer retreat. It is about nine miles to the north-east of Athens. A fountain of transparent water, and groups of shady trees which charmed the repose of the wealthy and munificent philosopher, still remain. It retains also its ancient name. Cephissiá was the demus of the comic poet—the Attic Terence—Menander.

At Cephissiá is a grotto, dedicated to the Moirai or Fates, to which the female peasants resort, to learn thence their destiny, or, as they express it, in order to behold their own Moira.



The following is a stanza of one of the fanciful airs which they sing to evoke the spirit on their entrance.

Ἵτὸν Ὀλυμπον, Ἵτὸν κόλυμβον,  
Ἵτὰ τρία ἄκρα τοῦρανοῦ  
ὅπου αἱ Μοῖραι τῶν Μοιρῶν,  
ὧ ἡδεῖα μοῦ Μοῖρα  
ὅς ἔλθῃ τώρα νὰ μ' ἴδῃ—

*At the peak'd Olympus height,  
And at Æther's triple crown ;  
Where prophetic Spirits be,  
Hither, airy, gentle Sprite,  
Come, I pr' thee, hither down ;  
Come, O come to me !*

It is said, that if a loose fragment should happen to fall from the vault of the grotto, the Moira is believed to be propitious to their prayer.

In our way to Cephissiá a village is visible, which is on the road from Athens to Mount Pentelicus. It is called Garitó : it may correspond with the native place of Epicurus, the ancient town of Gargettus, which was in this neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup>

A similarity of name is one of the principal clues by which we are now to be guided in detecting an ancient Demus lurking in a modern village. Such resemblances are not rare. The names of the modern villages in this portion of Attica present many interesting reminiscences of their early character and usages. In our return from Cephissiá to Athens we pass the village of Marousi. Marousi preserves in its name a record of the AMARUSIAN ARTEMIS : for an ancient inscription which is inserted in

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 236. Some of the other villages visible in the route are Καλογρέσι under Lycabettus, on the north-east of it : Bracháni, ten minutes to the south-west of Pellicó ; a stream here is called Πισπύρι (qu. Εὐπυρίδαι ?) : Logothéti, ten minutes south of Bracháni.



the wall of a <sup>1</sup> church ten minutes to the west of Marousi, informs us that it served to define the limits of the sacred precinct (τέμενος) encircling the temple of that goddess. Again, <sup>2</sup> Pausanias tells us, that the tutelary deity of the village of ΑΘΗΜΟΝΙΟΝ was the Amarusian Artemis. Hence we infer that the Athmonian Demus stood on a site near the modern village of Marousi. The vineyards (ἀμπέλια) which we cross in our way westward perhaps belong to that borough. They suggest an appropriate record of the Athmonian hero of the <sup>3</sup> Aristophanic comedy, the Peace, who there describes himself as Trygæus,

Τρυγαῖος Αθμονεὺς ἀμπελουργὸς δεξιός.

*Of Athmonum, a clever Vine-dresser.*

It would appear that the Amarusian Artemis was connected with another Artemis, who bore the title of Kolænis. The *jeu-d'esprit* in the Birds of the same Poet, in which this last Artemis is mentioned,

οὐκέτι Κολαινίς, ἀλλ' ἀκαλανθίς Ἀρτεμις,<sup>4</sup>

seems to intimate that the word ἀκαλανθίς had then some

<sup>1</sup> Η Ο Ρ Ο Σ : Α Ρ Τ Ε  
Μ Ι Δ Ο Σ : Τ Ε Μ Ε  
Ν Ο Σ : Α Μ Α Ρ Υ  
Σ Ι Α Σ

or, Ὁρος Ἀρτέ-  
μιδος τεμέ-  
νους Ἀμαρυ-  
σίας . .

*Limit of the sacred precincts of Amarusian Artemis.*

The church is about two hundred yards south of the village of Pellicó. There are three other small churches near it.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. i. 31, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Arist. Pac. 190.

<sup>4</sup> Av. 871. ἐν Ἀμαρύνθῳ ἡ Κολαινίς· οἱ Μυρρίνόυσιοι Κολαινίδα



connexion with *Κολαινίς*. Now, not far from Marousi stands the modern village of Kalandra. The word *Καλάνδρα* in modern Greek has the same signification with the word *ἀκαλανθίς* in ancient, an *alauda* or lark. It seems to be another form of the *same* word. Hence, if we may take it for granted, that the Artemis Colænis was not far from Marousi, and that the modern name of *Καλάνδρα* is a vestige of the identical ancient *ἀκαλανθίς*, attached to the same spot, we are furnished with a local illustration of the expression in Aristophanes, which lends in its turn a support to confirm the positions indicated above.

The title of another Athenian deity survives in the modern appellation of a village which lies between Marousi and Cephissiá. This deity is Hercules. <sup>1</sup> Plato bequeathed to his son Adeimantus a farm which he possessed in this neighbourhood. It lay between these two villages. Perhaps, it was the estate from which he sent the large present of figs to his cynical contemporary Diogenes.<sup>2</sup> He describes it in his will as adjacent to the road running to Cephissiá, on the north, and reaching on the south to the HERACLEIUM, or Temple of Hercules, which appertained to the borough of Hephæstia. The name of this temple is still surviving in that of a village which we pass to-day in our way between Marousi and Cephissia,—namely, the village of Harakli (*Ἀρακλεῖ*).

A little to the south-west of Harakli is the village of Chalcomatádes (*χαλκωματάδες*). In the present language of Attica this term has a peculiar meaning, which is here to be noticed. It is a noun substantive plural, and means ‘The

*ἐπονομάζουσι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, ὥσπερ Πειραιεῖς τὴν Μουνυχίαν, Φιλιᾶται δὲ τὴν Βραυρωνίαν.* Schol. ad loc.

<sup>1</sup> See his will in Diog. Laert. v. Plut. iii. 30. Cp. Bentley, Epist. Socr. p. 407. (ed. 1777.) <sup>2</sup> Stobæus ii., p. 49, ed. Gaisford.



Workers in brass.' Connected, in ancient times, with the demus of Hephæstia, were the three contiguous demi, which bore in their names the evidence of their near relation to the metal-working Hephæstus. These the *Εὐπυρίδαι*, *Δαιδαλίδαι*, *Αἰθαλίδαι*.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the village of Chalcomatádes preserves still, in its name, the indication of a similar connexion with the same deity. Their functions are similar to his: his festival, the *χαλκεῖα*, was connected with them by name: and his temple stood near the site on which the village of Chalcomatádes now stands.

Not far also from this spot was, perhaps, the site of one of the most celebrated objects in the ancient topography of Attica, the Temple of Pallas of PALLENE. Pallene was in a direct line from Marathon to Athens. At Pallene, the sons <sup>2</sup> of Peisistratus, marching from Marathon, were met by and repulsed the Alcæonids; at Pallene, they were themselves, on another <sup>3</sup> occasion, repulsed by the popular party. Pallene appears also to have been on the road by which an invader would come to Athens over the northern passes of Mount Parnes. For, in the popular fable, the body of the Argive Eurystheus <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Welcker. Trilog. p. 293. Von dem alten verbande der Ergadeis scheint noch die Phyle *Akamantis*, gleichsam ein *Ἀκμόνιος* rastloser Arbeiter, worin der Demos Hephæstiadæ mit einem Tempel des Hephæstos, so wie in dessen Nahe der Demos *Εὐπυρίδαι*, und dann die beyden andern Demen *Δαιδαλίδαι* und *Αἰθαλίδαι* Ueberreste zu seyn. He would probably connect the *Ἀθμονεῖς* (at Marousi) as *Αἰθμονεῖς* with the same class. The *Δαιδαλίδαι* were subsequently removed into the Cecropid Tribe. In Bekker, Anecd. p. 240, for *ΔΑΔΑΜΑΤΑΙ*: *δῆμος Κεκροπίδος* should be written *ΔΑΙΔΑΛΙΔΑΙ*. <sup>2</sup> Herod. i. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Andocid. Myst. p. 14. *νικήσαντες τοὺς τυράννους ἐπὶ Παλληνίῳ* (Cp. Sluiter Lect. Andoc. pp. 9 and 53, and for the history, Herod. v. 64.) Elms. Heracl. 849, proposes to read *Παλλήνῳ*, thinking that the name of the demus was *Πάλληνον*; but it was really Pallene. Antig. Caryst. c. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Eur. Heraclid. 1030. See a similar fable with respect to the body



was buried at Pallene, in order that it might ward off an Argive invasion from that quarter. Hence it would not be far from Acharnæ: and thus the expression put into the mouth of the Acharnians issuing from Acharnæ,<sup>1</sup>

ἀλλὰ δεῖ ζητεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βλέπειν Βαλλήναδε,

would be very natural and appropriate.

This word was sometimes written <sup>2</sup> Pellene, from which form the temple would be called Πελληνικόν. Perhaps a record of it may be preserved in the name of the modern village of Pellikò,<sup>3</sup> which is ten minutes to the east of Marousi, and not far from the site of Hephæstia.

Another reason corroborates the supposition, that Pallene was either at or adjacent to this place. We may

of Orestes, Herod. i. 68. Pausan. iii. 3. 7; and of Hesiod, viii. 54; cf. Aristid. iii. p. 284. Canter, who says that these ὑποχθονίους φύλακας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ῥύεσθαι τὴν χώραν οὐ χεῖρον ἢ τὸν ἐν Κολωνῷ κείμενον Οἶδ' ἵπουν. Œd. Col. 576. 621. <sup>1</sup> Acharn. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Inscript. ap. Boeck. p. 135. In Diog. Laert. Theophr. v. 57. ΠΕΛΑΝΕΤΣ is an error of the text for ΠΕΛΛΗΝΕΤΣ. Cp. Valcken. Theoc. Adoniaz. p. 189. ed. Heindorf.

<sup>3</sup> Pallene was near Gargettus; for Eurystheus, who was buried at Pallene (Eur. Heraclid. 1030), is said to be interred near Gargettus (Strabo, 377. Hesych. v. Γαργηττός). Hence is explained the story of Plutarch, Vit. Thes. c. 13, that the Pallenians would not intermarry with the Agnusians, because of an act of Agnusian treachery committed at Gargettus; that is, near their *own village of Pallene*. See Bentley, Phalaris, p. 145. The same story would lead us to suppose that Agnus was near to Pallene, and Agnus was not far from Athens (Alciphro, Ep. xxxix.) On the whole, therefore, I would place Gargettus beneath the northern extremity of Hymettus, not far from the cross road called Stauró. This would tally with the narrative, that when Pallas marched on Athens by the direct road from Sphettus, his sons were sent by him with a secret detachment of armed men to lie in ambush at Gargettus, (Plutarch. Thes. 13.) in order to take Theseus in the rear when he had marched southward from Athens towards Sphettus, to encounter their father. Gargettus was on the way from Athens for embarkation for Scyros. Plutarch. Thes. p. 72. This confirms the above result.



infer, that Pallene was near the demus of Hephæstia, from the following circumstance. On the birth of the Athenian king, Epicthonius, Pallas is said<sup>1</sup> to have brought in the air the mountain of Lycabettus from Pallene, and to have dropped it a little to the north-east of Athens, as a bulwark to the Acropolis. The explanation to be given to this legend seems to be this. Pallas came from Pallene, her own demus: she comes on the occasion of the birth of Ericthonius: now Ericthonius was, according to some traditions, the son of Pallas by Hephæstus. If, therefore, Pallene be near Hephæstia, Pallas will then come, with her natal gift, from the two demi of the two<sup>2</sup> parents; from the demus of Hephæstus, as well as from her own. Her coming, and from that place, and on that special occasion,—the birth of Ericthonius,—would be rendered more appropriate by that particular circumstance of their proximity.

This conjecture may be further confirmed. There was a Corporation<sup>3</sup> of Parasiti attached to the Heracleium, or Temple of Hercules, which stood at Hephæstia. The archives of this Corporation were preserved in the Temple at Pallene. This fact seems to imply that these two Temples were near to one another.

The reflections arising from the results of these investigations are very interesting. In accosting any of the villagers whom we may have met in our walk this morning, or may be employed in gathering their olives from the

<sup>1</sup> Antig. Caryst. c. 12. See Müller, Brief nach Athen. p. 19. Leake's Memoir, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> On the connexion of Pallas with Hephæstus, see, Plat. Critia, 109. c. Cic. N. D. iii. 22, 23. where the Apollo Patrous of Athens is spoken of as their son.

<sup>3</sup> In Athenæus, 234. f. Two of the three Parasiti there mentioned are *Gargettians*, which confirms the opinion above stated, p. 236, that Gargettus was near Pallene.



trees by the way-side, and in making enquiries of them concerning these five neighbouring villages, Marousi, Kalandra, Haraklí, Chalcomatádes, and Pellikó, we have been employing in our intercourse names celebrated among those woods and gardens more than two thousand years ago.

After returning to Athens, we visit the two white knolls which rise from the plain a mile<sup>1</sup> to the north-west of Athens, and gave their name to the demus which stood there—‘the white COLONUS,’ (ἀργῆτα Κολωνόν.<sup>2</sup>) In our way we leave the “olive-grove<sup>3</sup> of Academe,<sup>4</sup> Plato’s retirement,” on our left. It is still called by the same name as in the time of Plato—ACADEMIA.

On the two hills of Colonus are two churches. That on the northern hill is dedicated to S. Æmilian, the southern is sacred to the Panagia Eleousa. They are both on the sites of ancient buildings, probably of temples. A little to the west of this point is a chapel of S. Nicolas.<sup>5</sup>

I do not know what character is ascribed to S. Æmilian in the modern Greek hagiographies. But Eleousa is a name of mildness and clemency. She is regarded as εὐμενής. As such she has succeeded to the Εὐμενίδες of old, who formerly occupied the spot. S. Nicolas, it is well known, has displaced the Poseidon of the ancient Greek religion. With these three modern temples in its limits,

<sup>6</sup> χῶρος μὲν ἱερὸς πᾶς ὅδ’ ἐστ’, ἔχει δὲ νιν  
σεμνὸς Ποσειδῶν, ἐν δ’ ὁ πυρφόρος θεός—  
θεαί σφ’ ἔχουσι, Γῆς τε καὶ Σκότου κόραι—

<sup>1</sup> Ten stadia. Thuc. viii. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Soph. Œ. C. 670.

<sup>3</sup> The Academy was six stadia from Dipylum. Cic. de Fin. V. init.

<sup>4</sup> Milton.

<sup>5</sup> Also a church at the bottom of another hill, of the Ἁγιοὶ-Ἀκίνδυνοι, who are also said to resemble Eumenides in character. <sup>6</sup> Œ. C. 55.



*The place entire is holy : here resides  
 Awful Poseidon, here the Fire-bearer,  
 Here Goddesses, the race of Earth and Darkness—*

may still, in some measure, be said of Colonus.

The modern walls of the Athenian city (πύργοι μὲν οἱ πόλιν στέγουσιν) are visible from this place : so is the site of the Temple of the Furies at the base of the Areopagus, with both which objects the demus of Colonus is connected in the Œdipus at Colonus of Sophocles. An opinion has been expressed above on some of the circumstances relating to the death of Œdipus, as treated by Sophocles. At Colonus, the question naturally suggests itself, whether we are to fix here the last scene of the life of Œdipus. There may be a doubt upon this point, but it appears to me that Sophocles does not distinctly place the scene of his death here. Yet it is not easy to discover where he does place it, if it is not to be at Colonus.

This ambiguity probably arises from the conflicting traditions which prevailed at Athens on this point. The tomb of Œdipus was shown to <sup>1</sup> Pausanias in the *city of Athens* itself, at the foot of the Areopagus, in the precincts of the temple of the Eumenides. And this was an appropriate position for the body of Œdipus to occupy. For the body was to serve as a defence against an invasion. Being placed at the Areopagus,<sup>2</sup> it defended the Acropolis of Athens in the quarter where it was most exposed to the assaults of an invader, namely, on the west.

Still there was a strong authority in favour of the tradition which placed the scene of his death and sepulture at

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. i. 28. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the passage in Valer. Max. v. 3, which is remarkable for its local accuracy : Œdipodis ossa inter ipsum *Areopagum* honore aræ decorata quasi sacrosancta colis. This connexion of Œdipus with the Areopagus explains the allusion in Soph. Œ. C. 947.



*Colonus*, and Sophocles, a denizen of *Colonus*, would naturally be tempted to acquiesce in this belief.

He was embarrassed by the claims of a double obligation. The expedient by which he has contrived to satisfy these conflicting demands, and to convert the difficulty itself into a source of poetical beauty, is worthy of notice.

A few scenes before the close of the play he leaves Œdipus alone. Œdipus, without a guide, goes forth, about to die. But whither he is going the audience are not told. Still, a slight local intimation directs their minds to the site of the Areopagus at Athens. His daughters fetch him some clear water from a spring: the site of this spring is specified: it is at the <sup>1</sup> Temple of Demeter *Euchloos*; and that temple stood on the ascent at the south-west angle of the Acropolis at Athens. Thus are the minds of the hearers induced, by a gentle suggestion, to suppose Œdipus in the immediate neighbourhood of that spot.

The mention of the compact of Peirithous and Theseus more remotely, of the broken chasm of steep rock, more nearly—for such was the character of the Furies' Temple at Athens—would confirm them in this supposition. Thus did Sophocles endeavour to satisfy the popular belief of those who clung to the opinion, that the body of Œdipus lay interred in that sacred site.

Yet was not the poet faithless to his own village. *Colonus*, and the Temple of the Furies there, might still be regarded (and indeed they have been so regarded on the authority of <sup>2</sup> Sophocles,) as the depositories of the same

<sup>1</sup> V. 1600, where the Scholiast well observes, *ἱερὸν πρὸς τῇ ἀκροπόλει*; and to this temple belongs an inscription found near the spot, and still visible there, which records a dedication ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΡΗ. Boeck. Insc. p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Eur. *Phoeniss.* 1707, where Œdipus dies at *Colonus*; in Æschylus S. C. T. 991 (Schneid.) he dies and is buried at Thebes.



venerable trust. In vain does Antigone conjure Theseus to inform him where the body of her father lies. That is a secret which cannot be divulged. But when her father was seen for the last time by the spectators, he was still lingering at Colonus. The impression therefore might still remain on their minds that he is yet there. No explicit contradiction of the fact is given. He may be yet at Colonus.

Thus was Sophocles involved in some perplexity arising from the conditions of his subject: thus has he extricated himself from it; and has improved the difficulty into a source of mysterious beauty—a beauty singularly appropriate to the dark and awful character of the story which he was handling.



## CHAPTER XXXI.

Καὶ τοῦρανοῦ γ', ὥς φασιν, ἔστιν ἐν καλῷ.

INCERT. *Comic. ap. Dio. Chrys.* II. p. 335.

*Yes,—and it lies beneath a lovely sky.*

*On the Ægean shore a City stands  
Built nobly ; pure the air, and light the soil,  
ATHENS, the eye of Greece.*

MILTON, *P. R.* IV.

ATHENS, *Feb.* 1.

DIOGENES,<sup>1</sup> when exiled by the people of Sinope,—or, as he expressed it, when he exiled them—migrated to the south of Greece, and was wont to spend his summers at Corinth, and his winters at Athens. He preferred Corinth during the warmer season of the year, as standing upon two seas, and ventilated by a double breeze. Corinth also was refreshed by the cool shadows flung over it by its broad and lofty citadel, the Acrocorinthus.

But Athens was recommended as a winter residence by other advantages: it was not overhung by mountains: it was gently fanned by soft and pure airs: it was not subject to be deluged by violent rain; and its dry and <sup>2</sup>light soil

<sup>1</sup> Dio. Chrys. i. p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Dio. Chrys. i. p. 197. εἶναι τὴν χώραν ἀραιὰν, ὥς μήτε ὕεσθαι, πολλάκις μήτε ὑπομένειν τὸ ΠΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ὕδωρ; where Casaubon transposes the last words: but the last but one ought to be, I conceive, simply ΓΙΓΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ. Xen. *Œcon.* 17. 12. ἐν χειμῶνι πολλά ὕδατα γίγνεται.



speedily absorbed the showers which fell. Diogenes in this respect imitated, as he was wont to say, the habits of the great King of Persia, who migrated into Assyria from Media, for the winter months. Athens was the Susa of Diogenes—his Ecbatana was Corinth.

Our own experience would lead us to approve his choice. We returned yesterday to Athens from an excursion to Delphi, having passed through Thebes, Plataæ, Leuctra, Haliartus, Lebadeia, and Ambryssus, in our way thither; and through Daulis, Chæroneia, Orchomenus, Lebadeia, Coroneia, Thebes, Delium, and so over the river Asopus, and the passes of Mount Parnes, on our return. The overflowings of the Asopus in the plain of Plataæ were then covered with ice, as they were at the time of the siege of that city described by Thucydides. On our way back, the cold was excessively severe: it was one of Hesiod's Bœotian winters. On Mount Parnassus we were detained by a snow-storm. The snow was drifting with incessant violence as we passed the Triodos, where Œdipus encountered his father, in our way to the city of Daulis. The hill on which the citadel of Daulis stands was covered with a deep snow: the cold was too intense to allow of our standing still to make a transcript of some ancient inscriptions which are to be seen in a ruined church on its summit. We entered Thebes in a snow-storm which did not abate for several days, and confined us at Thebes in a room with no window—there was not then a pane of glass in all Thebes—for a week. The same cause prevented us from pursuing the ordinary and shortest route from Thebes, that by the pass of Phyle, which was blocked up by snow. We were therefore compelled to follow the long and circuitous

Aristop. Vesp. 265. *δείτ' αὖτ' ἀπὸ τῶν κάρπυμα ὕδωρ γενέσθαι*. Thucyd. ii. 5. vi. 70. vii. 79.



route over the high and open plain on the north of the Asopus, which brought us out on the sea-coast, a little to the south of the Euripus.

Thence we followed the shore southward, passing by Delium, and crossing the Asopus, which was swollen to a formidable stream; and then mounting the acclivities of Mount Parnes. Here however the snow befriended us. For in passing over these heights, at a distance of a few miles to the north-east of Deceleia, we were waylaid and attacked by two detachments of a large armed troop of the military bandits who now infest this country. Under the protection of a good Providence we owed our escape from detention in their mountain-haunts—by which other travellers have suffered, for the sake of a ransom on release—to the inclemency of the season, which rendered access to those mountainous abodes difficult, and residence in them almost impossible.

After an experience of such continued rigorous weather during this excursion, we were much surprised to hear, on our arrival at Athens, that the cold had not been severe in this place; that in the plain of Athens scarcely any snow had fallen, and that none had remained upon the ground. The climate of Attica still retains the character, which it enjoyed formerly, for this particular excellence. And we are therefore far from acceding to the opinion expressed by one of the speakers in the following dialogue, who deplores the degenerate state of this lovely land;

A. δέσποιν' ἀπασῶν, πότνι' Ἀθηναίων πόλις·

(B. μὴ λέγε ἄνθρωπε· οὐκέτι εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι δεσπόται.)

A. ὥς δὴ καλόν σου φαίνεται τὸ νεώριον.

(B. ἀλλὰ μεθ' Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰσχρόν.)

A. καλὸς δ' ὁ Παρθενῶν· καλὸς δ' ὁ Πειραιεύς.

(B. ἔτι δε μετὰ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτὸν βλέπεις ;)

A. ἄλση δε τίς πω τοιάδ' ἔσχ' ἄλλη πόλις ;



(B. εἶχε μὲν, δηϊωθείσα δ', ὥς ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς γυνή, ἀπεκείρατο.)

A. καὶ τοῦρανοῦ γ', ὥς φασὶν, ἔστιν ἐν καλῷ.

(B. καὶ πῶς, οἳ γε λιμώττουσι, καὶ νοσοῦσι,  
καὶ τὸ πλεόν αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυται μέρος  
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀέρων ἢ τῶν πολεμίων ;<sup>1</sup>)

A. *Fairest of all, O Athens! Queen of Cities!*

B. Say not so, Sir : for those Athenians of yours are masters no longer.

A. *How fair to me thy Arsenal appears!*

B. Nay—it is foul now, since the time of Lysander, and the Hellespont.

A. *Fair is thy Parthenon ; Peiræus, fair!*

B. You see it then still with its walls standing, do you?

A. *What city boasted e'er such groves as thou?*

B. True, *boasted*; but she has *shaven* them off now, as a woman in mourning does her hair.

A. *Yes, and she lies beneath a lovely sky.*

B. And how's that, when they sicken and starve,  
And more of them die from the air

Than from the enemy?

The <sup>2</sup>following is an agreeable picture, drawn in its better days, of the features which distinguish the city of Athens from others in Greece:—

Τῶν μὲν αὐτοφυῶν, ἀήρ τε οὗτος ἐξαίρετος τοῦ πολλοῦ, καὶ λιμένες τοιοῦτοι· ἔτι δὲ αὐτῆς τῆς Ακροπόλεως ἡ θέσις, καὶ τὸ ὥσπερ αὔρας εὐχαρι προσβάλλον πανταχοῦ· τοῦ γὰρ τῆς πάσης Αττικῆς ἀέρος οὕτως ἔχοντος, ἄριστος καὶ καθαρώτατός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς πόλεως ὑπερέχων. γνοίης δ' ἂν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῇ πόρρωθεν ὥσπερ αὐγῇ τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀέρι. . .

*Of the natural properties of Attica, the air possesses superior excellence, as its ports do likewise; besides this, the position of the Acropolis itself, and the loveliness of its circumambient air, are admirable; for while the air of all Attica has this character, that especially which hangs over the citadel is the fairest and most pure, so that you might recognise that spot at a distance by the crown of light which encircles it,—the atmosphere over its head.*

<sup>1</sup> The Author is indebted to the late Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Kaye) for reminding him that the above passage had been thus restored by Porson, *Tracts by Kidd*, p. 230. *Gaisford*, *Heph.* p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Xen. Vectigal.* c. i. and *Aristoph. Athen.* ix. 372. c. on the climate and seasons of Attica.



## CHAPTER XXXII.

Ἀγορὰ ὦ Ἀθῆναις χαῖρε.

ARISTOPH. *Acharn.*

*Market of Athens, hail!*

THE Bazar or Market at Athens is a long street, which is now the only one there of any importance. It has no foot-pavement, and there is a gutter in the middle, down which, in this wintry weather, the water runs in copious torrents. The houses are generally patched together with planks and plaster. Looking up the street, you command a view of the commodities with which this Athenian market is now supplied. Barrels of black caviar, small pocket-looking-glasses in red pasteboard cases, onions, tobacco piled up in brown heaps, black olives, figs strung together upon a rush, rices, pipes with amber mouth-pieces and brown clay bowls, rich stuffs, and silver-chased pistols, dirks, belts, and embroidered vests,—these are the objects which a rapid glance along this street presents to the spectator.<sup>1</sup>

The things which are *not* to be found here, as well as those which are, ought not to be neglected in this description. Here there are no books, no lamps, no windows, no carriages, no newspapers, no post-office. The letters which

<sup>1</sup> Written in 1833.



arrived here a few days since from Napoli, after having been publicly cried in the streets, if they were not claimed by the parties to whom they were addressed, were committed to the flames.

Such is the present state of Athens, as far as its streets speak of its condition. This city is still in the hands of the Turks. All the other continental towns of Greece south of Thermopylæ are now independent of Turkey. Strange, that of all the towns of southern Greece, such a distinction should have been reserved for Athens!

Such however is the case. The Muezzin still mounts the scaffold in the bazar here to call the Mussulman to prayer at the stated hours; a few Turks still doze in the archways of the Acropolis, or recline while smoking their pipes, and leaning with their backs against the rusty cannon which are planted on the battlements of its walls; the Athenian peasant, as he drives his laden mule from Hymettus through the eastern gate of the town, still flings his small bundle of thyme and brushwood, from the load which he brings on his mule's back, as a tribute to the Mussulman toll-gatherer, who sits at that entrance of the town; and a few days ago the cannon of the Acropolis fired the signal of the conclusion of the Turkish Ramazam—the last that will ever be celebrated in Athens.

Such alterations may probably occur within a few years in the general aspect of things in this place, that this description of its appearance will then perhaps be considered as a chapter taken from the fabulous history of Athens, and its condition in a short period may be as far removed from what it is at present, as from what it was in the most ancient times, under the old Cecropian monarchs, and at that obscure epoch, when its soil was trodden by the feet of the roving Pelasgi.



May Athens flourish again, and become a second time the light of Greece! May she become the capital of a kingdom, Christian and free! May she eclipse her former self, by being a source of genuine liberty, and pure religion to the eastern world!



## CHAPTER XXXIII.

ὕψει γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ σφόδρ' ὄντας Ἀττικοὺς.

ARISTOPH.

*For you will see them genuine Athenians.*

THE arrival of the King of Greece, which took place at Napoli on the 30th of January last, has (as might be expected) produced much excitement at Athens. The Athenians propose to send a deputation to Napoli, to welcome their new monarch to Greece. But who are the persons to be selected as delegates on this embassy, is a question which is frequently asked, and answered in different ways. Had an embassy been decreed yesterday in the Pnyx, to meet Philip of Macedon at Thermopylæ, there could hardly be more agitation at Athens than now.

For the purpose of settling this question, meetings and counter-meetings have been held by the rival factions into which the political society of Athens is divided: and a fray has occurred in the market-place. The principal combatants have been since happily reconciled to one another by the mediation of the venerable Bishop of Athens, who ratifies the work of reconciliation by a religious ceremony provided in the Greek<sup>1</sup> Ritual. "Beati Pacifici." Something of a similar ceremonial, with far feebler sanctions,

<sup>1</sup> It is there entitled Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἔχθρας εἰρηνευούσης. Eucholog. p. 685.



was performed in ancient times. Ἐγὼ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων διηλλάγην τούτοις ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐναντίον μαρτύρων, οἵτινες διήλλαττον ἡμᾶς πρὸς τῷ νεῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.<sup>1</sup> *I, at the instance of my friends, was reconciled to these persons in the Acropolis, in the presence of witnesses, who reconciled us to each other at the Temple of Minerva.*

Some melancholy evidence of the jealousies which distract the political parties of modern Athens, is found in the expressions used by the Bishop of Athens at the conclusion of the<sup>2</sup> harangue which he delivered a few days ago,

<sup>1</sup> Andoc. 146. 3.

<sup>2</sup> As an indication of the public feeling now entertained here, and as a specimen of modern oratory, a copy of the venerable Bishop's address (to whose personal kindnesses I look back with feelings of affectionate respect) may be here inserted. The references in it to Holy Scripture, especially to the text Matth. xvi. 18, are interesting and important.

Ὁμιλία σύντομος, ῥηθεῖσα παρὰ τῷ Ναῷ τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου (Θησέως) εἰς τὴν δοξολογίαν γινομένην, ὅτε ἀπεστάλη τὸ ἀ. διάταγμα τοῦ κραταιωτάτου καὶ θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν Βασιλέως Ὁθωνος, ἐν Ἀθήναις, παρὰ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Ταλαντίου Νεοφύτου, καὶ Τοποτηρητοῦ Αθηνῶν, συναθροισθέντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ.

“Ἐχάρη ποτὲ ὁ Ἰσραηλιτικὸς λαὸς ὅτε ἐπέστρεψεν, ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ. Πολύ περισσότερον ἐχάρημεν ἡμεῖς σήμερον, εὐλογημένον μου ἀκροατήριον, ἀγαπητοί μου ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συμπολίται, διότι, διὰ τοῦ θείου ἐλέους, ἔπειτα ἀπὸ τόσους ἀγῶνας, ἀπὸ τοσαύτας θλίψεις, ἀπὸ τόσα βάσανα, ἀπὸ τόσους κινδύνους, διωγμοὺς, λεηλασίας, σφαγὰς, πυρκαϊὰς, φεύγοντες, διεσπάρημεν τῇδε κἀκεῖσε, ἤδη ἐπεστρέψαμεν εἰς τὴν πυθινοτάτην πατρίδα μας, καὶ ἐπατήσαμεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς πατρώας μας γῆς, περιφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ἐρείπια, ὡς εἰς παλάτια, χαίροντες. Ἐὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παιδεύων καὶ πάλιν ἰώμενος!” Ὁ πανάγαθος Θεός, ὡς ἐλεήμων, ὡς συμπαθὴς καὶ οἰκτίρμων, παρέβλεψε τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μας, καὶ μᾶς ἠλέησεν. Ἐνευσεν εἰς τὰς καρδίας τῶν τριῶν κραταιωτάτων Ἀνάκτων, οἵτινες ἐνωθέντες, τῇ θείᾳ δυνάμει, ἀπεστελλον ἡμῖν τὸν κραταιώτατον καὶ γαληνότατον ἡμῶν βασιλέα Ὁθωνα, οὗ τὸ κράτος καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ εἶη ἄμαχος καὶ ἀκατατρόπωτος εἰς αἰῶνας. Ναί, Χριστὲ Βασιλεῦ! πάλιν λέγω τὸ, Ἐὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παιδεύων καὶ πάλιν ἰώμενος!” Ω δόξα! ὦ λαμπρότης! ὦ εὐφροσύνη! ὦ ἀγαλλίασις! Δεδοξασμένον τὸ πανάγιόν σου ὄνομα, Βασιλεῦ τῶν βασιλευόντων, ἐπουράνιε Θεέ, Κύριε Παντοκράτωρ! Διὸ εἶναι πρόπον ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἀληθεῖς χριστιανοί,



(on the 14th of February,) at the south side of the low hill on which the Temple of Theseus is placed, on the receipt of the first public dispatch at Athens from the new King.

The harangue itself, the occasion of its delivery, the place from which it was delivered, the character of the audience assembled, and of the speaker,—a Christian Bishop of Athens,—were in themselves objects of no ordinary interest. The Bishop was escorted to the spot with all the

να ὑμνολογήσωμεν, ἀπὸ καρδίας καὶ ψυχῆς, ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες, νέοι καὶ γέροντες, τὸν ὑψιστον Θεὸν, καὶ νὰ ἄρωμεν χεῖρας ἱκετίδας πρὸς αὐτόν, δεόμενοι ἀεννάως ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑγείας καὶ ἐνισχύσεως τοῦ θεοσυντηρήτου, καὶ γαληνοτάτου, καὶ κραταιωτάτου ἡμῶν Βασιλέως, ὃν διέποι καὶ συντηροῖ, ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ ἀκλόνητον, καὶ ἀκράδαντον. Ναί, πανάγιε Βασιλεῦ ! Καθὼς ἡ Α. Μ. νοθετεῖ καὶ συμβουλεύει, διὰ τοῦ Β. αὐτοῦ διατάγματος, ὡς κοινὸς πατήρ, νὰ παύσῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπὸ ἡμᾶς ἡ διχόνοια, ἡ σατανικὴ ἔχθρα, ἣν ἐγέννησεν ἡ φορὰ τοῦ καιροῦ, καὶ αἱ δεινὰ περιστάσεις (διότι τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς ἔχθρας καὶ τῆς σατανικῆς διχονοίας ἄλλο οὐκ ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀφανισμὸς, ὕλεθρος, καὶ ἐξόντωσης πάντων), ἃς ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ Εὐαγγελίου, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶναι τὸ νέκταρ τὸ οὐράνιον, ἡ δεσποτικὴ διδασκαλία (ὅσοι ἐπαγγέλλονται τὸν ἀληθῆ χριστιανὸν, καὶ ὅσοι χριστιανοὶ οἰκοῦσι τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανόν, ἄλλην διδασκαλίαν ἀληθεστέραν καὶ ἠθικωτέραν δὲν ἔχουσιν, εἰ μὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ Εὐαγγελίου), καθὼς λέγει· ‘Πᾶσα βασιλεία, καὶ πόλις, καὶ κώμη, μερισθεῖσα ἐρημωθήσεται.’ Αὐτὸ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον εἶναι ἡ βάσις τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως, αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸ θεμέλιον, αὐτὴ εἶναι ἡ ἀρραγὴς πέτρα, κατὰ τὸ, ‘Σὺ εἰ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ᾗδου οὐ κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς.’ Ἄς ἐναγκαλισθῶμεν τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπην, ἀγαπητά μου τέκνα, καὶ ἃς ἀπορρίψωμεν, δίκην κονιορτοῦ, τὴν διαβολικὴν ἔχθραν, προσφέροντες δοξολογίας εἰς τὸν παντοδύναμον καὶ ὑψιστον Θεόν, ποιῶντες τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ ἀπαραβάτως καὶ ἀπαραμειώτως, διὰ ν' ἀκούσωμεν τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀψευδοῦς ἐκείνης φωνῆς, τῆς λεγούσης· ‘Εὖ, δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ καὶ πιστὲ, ἐπ' ὀλίγα ἡς πιστὸς, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σὲ καταστήσω, εἰσελθε εἰς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου σου’ καὶ, τοιουτοτρόπως, νὰ ζήσωμεν καὶ ἐνταῦθα εἰρηνικῶς, τιμίως, καὶ ἐνδόξως ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλικὴν προστασίαν καὶ σκέπην, διότι ‘καρδία Βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ,’ καὶ εἶτα ν' ἀξιωθῶμεν καὶ τῆς ἐπουρανίου αὐτοῦ Βασιλείας.

“Ζήτησαν αἱ κραταιώταται συμμαχικαὶ δυνάμεις!

“Ζήτη ὁ κραταιώτατος καὶ γαληνόςτατος ἡμῶν Βασιλεὺς Ὁθων!

“Ζήτη ἡ Ἑλλάς! Ἀμήν.”

“Ἐν Ἀθήναις.

τῇ 2. (14) Φεβρ. 1833.”



civil and ecclesiastical pomp which still survives in this almost exhausted city. He spoke in *the open air*, although the largest church of Athens, once the Temple of Theseus and now dedicated to St. George, was close at hand to admit the audience under its roof, and though it was a winter's day on which he delivered his oration. But, as has been already observed, public life at Athens was and is naturally *hypæthral*.

Some of his audience were standing on the rising ground near him, others sat on the steps of the Temple.

What a change has been wrought in this city, since the mortal remains of Theseus, the old Athenian king, were welcomed by the people of Athens with the sound of poetry and music to this spot! but how little changed is the Temple, which witnessed that scene, and now witnesses the present demonstrations of welcome to the New Monarch of Greece! Were this Temple endued with sense, how would it marvel at these vicissitudes—how, having beheld that ancient pageant, would it wonder at the ceremony of to-day; how would it be astonished to hear a Bishop of Athens pronouncing that three Powers, England, France, and Russia, kingdoms which did not exist when this Temple was founded, but are now the mightiest on the earth, have sent hither a King, from a strange and distant land, to be proclaimed to the Athenian people on that self-same spot, which according to ancient belief contains beneath its soil the venerable ashes of Theseus!



## CHAPTER XXXIV.

Χαλεπὸν ἦν περὶ πορεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὴν εἰς Ἀθήνας  
ὁδὸν, οὐδὲν μέρος ἀκίνδυνον ὑπὸ ληστῶν καὶ κακούργων ἔχουσιν.

PLUT. *Thes.* c. vi.

*It was dangerous to travel on foot by the road leading from the Morea to Athens, since no part of it was free from danger of robbers.*

THIS description of the state of the Isthmus of Corinth in the days of Theseus, gives a correct picture of what it is now. For several months the entrance into the Peloponnesus from Continental Greece has been rendered impassable for travellers, by the violence of the military bandits who infest the pass. The advice given to Theseus by his mother Æthra is as prudent now as it was then, and for the same reasons. In performing the journey<sup>1</sup> in the reversed direction, we adopt the counsel which she then offered, and avoid the route by land, to choose the passage by sea.

On setting out this morning from the gate of Athens in our way to the Peiræus, we were cautioned by our guides to delay our steps till we had formed a strong party—*καλὴν συντροφίαν*—to go with us. A few days ago, two Greeks coming from the Peiræus in the evening, were plundered and wounded on this road. Such is the miserable state of this country. If any one requires to learn by a

<sup>1</sup> This excursion was made a little before King Otho's arrival in Greece.



practical lesson what are the results which political disorganisation will produce on his own personal freedom and convenience, he has only to spend a week in Greece. To one who is content to remain stationary in a single spot, the embarrassments resulting from this disastrous condition are not small; but to him who has come here for the purpose of exploring different districts, the difficulties in which it involves him cannot be enumerated.

It is no exaggeration to say that he cannot calculate his future movements by land in any direction whatever, with any confidence, for the space of two days. It would be regarded as an act of incredible rashness for a traveller to venture on a ride from Athens to Acharnæ. In the village of <sup>1</sup> Menídi near Acharnæ, resides the Greek Captain, Vasso. His soldiers, if they deserve the name, indemnify themselves for the pay of which they are defrauded, by seizing without mercy whatever falls in their way. By this system of depredation the whole of the province is reduced to beggary. Many of its villages are deserted; their population has quitted them, either to take refuge in the mountains, or to swell the numbers of these depredators, first, as the best means of self-defence, and then perhaps, by their own aggressions, to inflict on others the same evils which they themselves have suffered.

Another incident may be mentioned as showing that the immediate neighbourhood of Athens itself is in such a state, that unattended and leisurely excursions into its environs are difficult and dangerous. The delineation of a chart of Athens and its suburbs was lately commenced by two

<sup>1</sup> The same with Παιονίδαι, according to the conjecture of Stuart, on account of the similarity of sound. Cp. Leake Demi, p. 134. Perhaps however, the Ποιμενίδαι (Meier de Gent. Attic. p. 50.) have a stronger claim on this ground to be identified with Μενίδι.



architects resident here. They were desirous of completing it as expeditiously as possible. Instead, however, of being accomplished, their task has just been abandoned, on account of the insecurity with which they found that, even within sight of the walls of Athens, their researches were attended.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following picture by Professor F. Thiersch (*Etat Actuel de la Grèce*, i. p. 237.) of the state of Greece at this time, is as true as it is sad. "L'administration est dissoute. Les préfets envoyés dans les eparchies par les gouvernemens, ont été ou chassés ou changés en agens des Capitaines (Vassos, &c.), dont les soldats occupent tout l'intérieur du pays et vivent aux dépens des habitants. L'action des lois a cessé. Des actes de violence l'ont remplacée. Dans les villages il n'y a presque plus personne, les paysans s'étant retirés dans les montagnes et dans les cavernes. Voici les auspices sous lesquels la Regence arrive, parcequ'au lieu d'être en fonctions au mois de Mai 1832, elle n'y entre qu'en Février 1833. *Ces neuf mois d'angoisses ont ruiné la Grèce.*"



## CHAPTER XXXV.

Ἰομεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα.

*To Salamis !*

SOLON.

PEIRÆUS, Oct. 19.

ALCIPHRON,<sup>1</sup> in one of those imaginary letters which he has written in the names of illustrious correspondents, while addressing himself, in the person of Menander, to Glycera, informs her that he has just declined a pressing invitation to the Court of Alexandria, which he had received from King Ptolemy, and he details to Glycera the reasons which induced him to do so, she being supposed to be at Athens, while the poet is writing from the Peiræus.

Nothing, he says, in Ægypt would console him for the loss of those objects which, by going thither, he would leave behind him at Athens. He derives an argument for his reluctance to leave home from the spot where he is writing. There were before his eyes local objects of powerful interest, which he loved to contemplate—scenes of beauty and glory such as no other country could equal; ποῦ γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ,—“For where in Ægypt,” he exclaims, “shall I see such objects as I see here; where else shall I behold τὰ μυστήρια, τὴν γειτνιώσαν Σαλαμῖνα, τὰ ΣΤΗΝΑ, τὴν Ψυττάλειαν . . . ὅλην ἐν ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ii. ep. 3 ; and in Menander p. 342, ed. Meineke.



'Αθήναις τὴν Ἑλλάδα; *the Eleusinian Mysteries, the neighbouring Salamis \* \* \* \* the island of Psyttaleia . . . in a word, the whole of Greece concentrated in Athens?*'

This passage of Alciphron suggests itself for notice, partly as exhibiting to our view the same objects as meet the eye of the spectator on the shores of the Peiræus, and also as throwing some light on the circumstances of the battle of Salamis, which took place in sight of these shores.

But before we can employ it to illustrate the circumstances of that event, or the topography of this region, the passage itself requires some illustration. The words τὰ **ΣΤΗΝΑ** require correction, and several emendations have been proposed for them,<sup>1</sup> but not with much success. The true reading is τὰ **ΣΤΕΝΑ**. The place in which the battle of Salamis was fought, could not be more properly designated than by this simple name, Τὰ Στενὰ, the STRAITS.

It was called peculiarly *the* Straits, as the noblest scene of Athenian valour; and it was also to their *straitness* that the Athenians were indebted for an opportunity of displaying that valour against a hostile force which was there embarrassed by its own magnitude.<sup>2</sup>

Hence it was that when the Athenians expressed their grateful acknowledgements to Themistocles, through whose ingenuity and courage the splendid result of the battle of Salamis was realised; they did so because, in the language of Thucydides, αἰτιώτατος ἐν <sup>3</sup> Τῷ ΣΤΕΝΩΙ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο,

<sup>1</sup> στήνια by Dorville, Chariton. p. 449; and Σιλήνια by Meineke, Menand. p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> C. Nepos. v. Themist. 4. Barbarus adeo ANGUSTO mari confligit (Æschyl. Pers. 412. πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν ἡθροιστο) ut ejus multitudo navium explicari non potuerit.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. i. 74. Comp. Themistocl. Apophtheg. H. St. 98, μὴ πείθων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἐν ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΕΝΟΙΣ ναυμαχῆσαι κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Βάρβαρον ἔπεμψε. Plutarch Vit. Themist. p. 463. βαρέως φέρων ὁ



ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα . . . *it was mainly owing to his contrivance that the naval conflict had taken place in THE STRAITS ; a circumstance which clearly saved the cause of Greece.*

We pass the night in a small boat in the bay, having spent the afternoon on the shore in exploring the ruins of the town of SALAMIS, which are seen at Ampelákia, the modern village on the western side of the Strait.

The southern outlet of the Strait is faced by the small island of PSYTTALEIA. It was on account of this its position that this island was chosen as the post of a detachment of the noblest and bravest of the Persians, who were commanded to intercept the flight of the Greeks from their station in the bay. Here, when instead of pursuing, they were themselves pursued by their antagonists, the principal carnage of the Persians took place.

Psyttaleia is a low and barren islet. Its present name is Lipsokoutáli. This is perhaps a corruption of the older name, which, in the mouth of a Greek, would be pronounced Psyttália. The attempt to give the word some meaning in the modern language<sup>1</sup> produced the present modification of the old name.

It was the spectacle of the slaughter made by the Greeks

Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν προέμενοι βοήθειαν, Vit. Aristid. p. 498. νῦν σὲ πυνθάνομαι μόνον, ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἀρίστων λογισμῶν κελεύοντα διανουμαχεῖν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς.

<sup>1</sup> In which κουτάλι signifies a *spoon*, and, as applied to this small flat island, expresses nearly the same idea as the ancient name did, which seems to be nothing more than a corruption of Ψῆττα λεία. Coulouri, the modern name of Salamis, is in the same way expressive of its *circular* form. Κουλοῦρι is interpreted by ὄφιοι in Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget., and is the same word as the Latin *coluber* and *colurus*; hence it means a circular cake (κόλλυρα. Aristoph. Pac. 122.), which is its signification in Greece now; and hence the iron which encircles the pole of a plough is now called κολλοῦρα.



here which struck the mind of the <sup>1</sup> Persian monarch with so much horror and dismay, that he sprung from his silver-footed throne on the hill-side, uttering a loud cry of lamentation, and tearing his garments in an agony of despair.

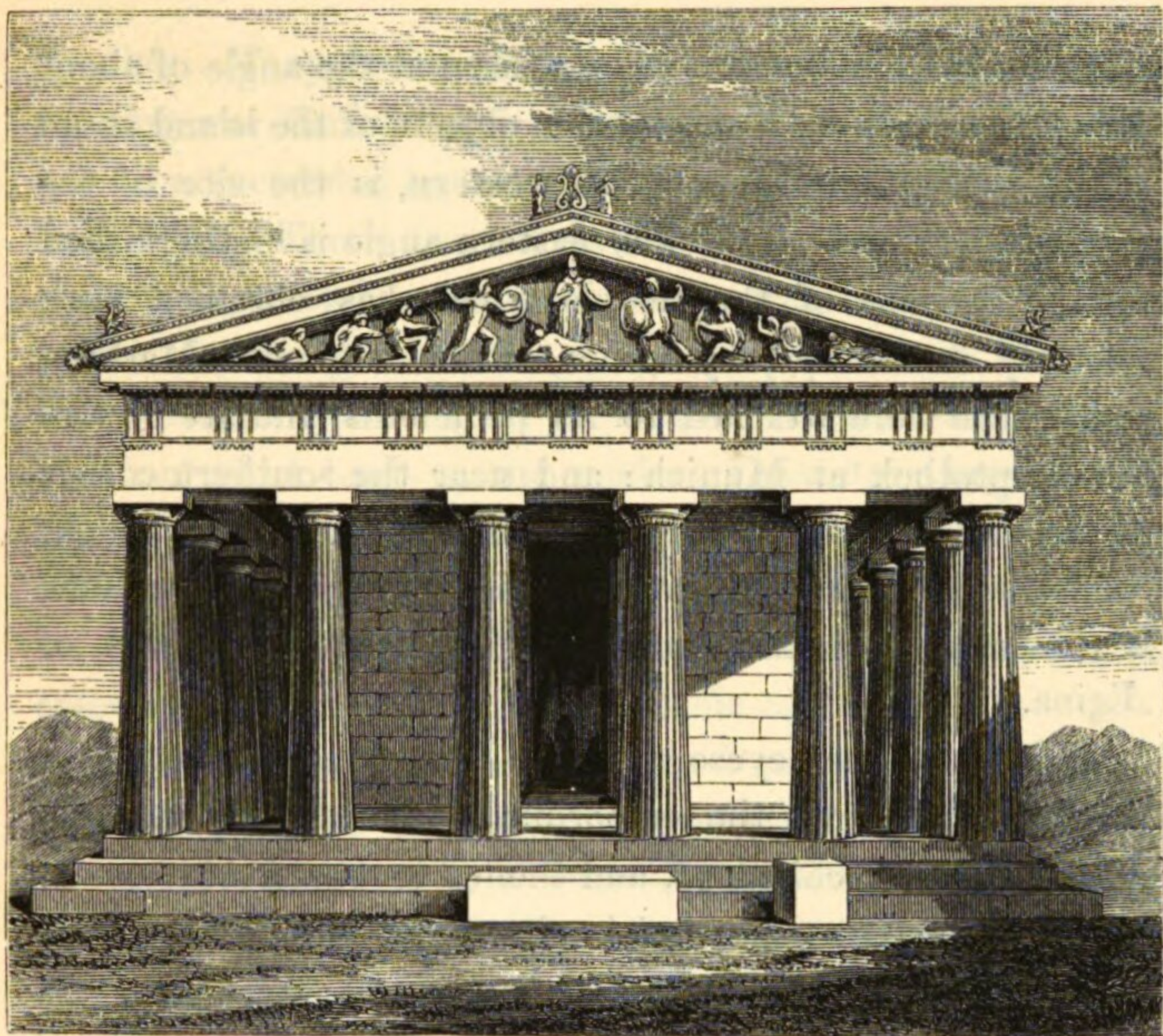
A little to the east of this hill is a harbour on the mainland, which retires with a deep inland recess: from this harbour a small Greek vessel is now seen issuing, rendered more conspicuous by the dark-red colour of its sails, strongly contrasted with the gloominess of the shady creek. This is the only object now moving on the Bay of Salamis.

<sup>1</sup> Æschl. Pers. 465.—the rhythm of the first line here is very expressive—

Ξέρξης ἀνόμεωξεν κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος·  
 ἔδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐανγῆ στρατοῦ,  
 ὑψηλὸν ὄχθον ἄγχι πελαγίας ἁλός,  
 ῥήξας δὲ πέπλους κἀνακωκύσας λιγὺν  
 ἥϊξ' ἀκόσμφ' ξὺν φυγῇ.

The position of his throne seems to have been on the southern side of the hill called Κερατόπυργο, and formerly Ægaleos. Schol. Aristid. p. 183. Dindorf. Ξέρξης καθῆστο ἐπὶ τῆς ἡπείρου εἰς τὸ ἈΥΓΑΛΕΟΝ (read τὸν ΑἸΓΑΛΕΩΝ) ὄρος καταντικρὺν Σαλαμῖνος. Cp. Harpocrat. v. ἀργυρόπους δίφρος. Cp. Plut. v. Themist. p. 464, where the throne is of gold. In Callim. Frag. cclxvi, ἡ ὑπὲρ Αἴγσταλεον χαρίτων λόχον, perhaps we should read ΑἸΓΑΛΕΩΝ.





Temple of Minerva at Ægina restored.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

Ω πότνια Μοῖσα  
τὰν πολυξέναν ἵκεο  
Δωρίδα νᾶσον  
Αἴγιναν.

PINDAR. *Nem.* III. 1.

OCT. 20.

AT eight o'clock this morning we arrive in the harbour of ÆGINA. The modern coincides with the ancient port: it is at the north-west angle of the island.

In shape Ægina is an irregular triangle, the north side of which is nearly parallel to the equator; and its other two



sides are both inclined to the northern at the angle of about  $45^{\circ}$ . The three most remarkable objects of the island stand at these three angles. At the western, is the site of the ancient port and city. The eastern angle is distinguished by the remains of the temple which has obtained such celebrity in Europe, by means of the Æginetan Marbles, which once were attached to its pediments, and are now in the Glyptothek at Munich: and near the southern corner of the island rises a magnificent conical mountain, which, from its grandeur, its form, and its historical recollections, is the most remarkable among the natural features of Ægina.

Ægina was the <sup>1</sup> eyesore of the Peiræus; its position in the direct line from the emporium of Corinth, to the rich islands of the Archipelago, and thence to the Asiatic ports, furnished it with commercial advantages superior to those of Athens itself. Even its barrenness was of service. It drove the inhabitants of Ægina from tilling their meagre and rocky fields, to plough the ocean as a more fertile soil than that of their own island: and their Doric extraction gave them, on the ground of consanguinity, a claim to the mercantile favour and protection of many thriving marts, where the Athenian trader, for the opposite reason, did not gain so ready an admittance, or so advantageous a reception.

Remains of the maritime power of Ægina may be traced in the harbour where we now are. From its size and beauty it <sup>2</sup> once attracted the admiration of its Athenian neighbours and enemies. The entrance to it is through a narrow opening between the two moles (χηλαί), which project from the shore, and then converge towards this

<sup>1</sup> λήμη τοῦ Πειραιῶς. Aristot. Rhet. iii. 10. 7. Cp. Cic. Off. iii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. c. Aristocr. 691.



opening. They terminated in two towers, by which the opening was flanked and protected. That on the left side has been succeeded by a small modern chapel, dedicated to S. Nicolas. There are foundations near the shore of docks and basins, stretching for about a hundred and eighty yards to the north of this harbour, and connected with it. Towards the northern extremity of these substructions is the *scala*, or wharf which leads to the modern Lazaretto: beyond the Lazaretto, in the same direction, are the remains of an ancient Temple. Its foundations are of considerable extent. Of the rest of the building there now only survives, in an erect state, a broken shaft of a marble column.

Various dates have been assigned to the foundation of this Temple. To determine this question, a circumstance otherwise trivial may be worthy of notice. The temple has been employed by the modern Æginetans as a quarry, from which they have excavated materials for the construction of buildings, public and private, in the town, to which, unhappily for its own sake, it is immediately contiguous.

In hewing out the masses of the ancient fabric, several blocks of it were found to be inscribed with letters of red chalk, which were then distinctly legible. These blocks were drawn from the lowest foundation of the building; the characters, therefore, which are inscribed upon them, are coeval with the building itself. The following are specimens of these characters, which, from their form, may serve as authentic data for determining the time of the erection of the temple. The two names which they exhibit, Prothymius and Euphamides, belonged perhaps to two builders employed in the construction of the fabric.

ΠΡΟΘΥΜΙΟΣ

ΕΥΦΑΜΙΔΗΣ



From a comparison of the characters in these inscriptions, with others of which the date is known, it is evident that the foundation of this temple is not of an earlier date than the Peloponnesian War.

Following the coast in the same direction, we find a tumulus on the shore, probably the same which <sup>1</sup> Pausanias saw there, and which he believed to be the work of Telamon, who landed in the neighbouring port, and raised this monument to Phocus. Near it were the Theatre and Stadium, of which no vestiges remain.

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Oct. 21.

The beautiful ruin of the Æginetan Temple, at the north-east corner of the island, has been a theme of general admiration to Greek travellers. It stands on a gentle elevation near the sea, commanding a view of the Athenian coast, and of the Acropolis at Athens, and beyond them, of the waving line traced by the mountain ranges of Pentelicus and Hymettus. Its site is sequestered and lonely. The ground is diversified by grey rocks overhung by tufted pines, and clusters of low shrubs, among which we see goats feeding, cropping the leaves of the shrubs, and climbing on their boughs. The religion of Greece knew how to avail itself of two things conducive to a solemn and devotional effect, Silence and Solitude.

There was perhaps another reason why a site at the distance of eight miles from the city of Ægina was preferred to one in its immediate neighbourhood for the position of this Temple.

It is not improbable that this building did not owe its origin to the exertions of Æginetans themselves. It has,

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. ii. 29.



indeed, by many topographers, been considered as identical with the Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, and even as the same fabric with Æacus, the king of Ægina, erected to that deity.

But the position of this Temple, standing not on a mountain, as that Temple did, but on a gentle hill, and the character of its architecture, indicate that it is not the <sup>1</sup> Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius; and another and distant site can be clearly proved to coincide with that of the Panhellenium.

To whom then was this Temple dedicated? In order to answer this question, let us examine the groups of sculpture which once stood against the azure ground of its two pediments. They had no doubt an immediate reference to the object of that worship which was paid in the Temple itself. In both these groups one figure, that of Minerva, is more prominent than the rest. We may hence infer that the Temple was dedicated to that goddess.

The following circumstance leads to the same conclusion. In our return to the town of Ægina from the Temple, we pass a small Greek church, at the distance of a quarter of an hour to the west of the Temple. The spot is called Bilikada; the church is dedicated to S. Athanasius. The door of the church is surmounted by a large marble slab, inscribed

HOPOS

TEMENOS

AΘΕΝΑΙΑΣ

that is, ὄρος τεμένους Ἀθηνάϊας, *The limit of the sacred precinct*

<sup>1</sup> The only evidence in favour of this supposition is furnished by the two words ΔΙΙ ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΩΙ, which are said to have been inscribed on the portico of the temple. If this inscription ever existed there, the dialect alone proves it to have been a forgery.



of *Minerva*; an inscription which probably once defined the boundary of the consecrated enclosure around this Temple.

That it was dedicated to the Goddess of Athens not by Æginetans, but by the Athenians when in possession of Ægina, may perhaps be inferred from the site, at a distance from the town of Ægina, and looking directly upon Athens. The same inference may be derived from the language of the inscription itself; in which, it will be observed, the name of the goddess is not expressed in the Doric dialect of Ægina, but according to the Attic form.

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Oct. 22.

We visit to-day the site of the Panhellenium.<sup>1</sup> It was placed on the summit of the conical mountain at the southern angle of the island, which has been noticed as so prominent a feature in the scenery of Ægina. This hill is now called τὸ ὄρος, *The mountain*. The name has been handed down for more than twenty centuries from the *ancient* language of Greece itself;—in the *modern* dialect it would be called *Vunó* (Βουνό)—it denotes at the same time that the mountain which is so called, is the highest in Ægina.

This mountain was an object of great interest to the ancient inhabitants of the island. On its summit Æacus the king of Ægina was believed to have prayed to Jupiter in the name of the whole <sup>2</sup> Hellenic nation for a supply of rain, which was then greatly needed, and which (it was said) was sent by Jupiter in compliance with his prayer.

The summit of this mountain, called ὄρος, seems to be the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. A. Mustoxydi in *Αἰγιναία*. No. 1. July 15, 1831.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. i. 44. and ii. 29. and 30.



site of the Temple of the Panhellenian Jove, which derived its name from the circumstance above mentioned.

The PANHELLENIUM is placed by Pausanias on a mountain (*ὄρος*): there is no elevation in Ægina which deserves such a title but the present, which still bears the name by which he characterises the site.

The Panhellenian Mountain served for a meteorological beacon. If its conical apex was capped with cloud, rain was expected.<sup>1</sup> This notion prevails still. In this respect the crest of the Æginetan Oros is now to the Ægean mariner what the heights of <sup>2</sup>Roseberry and Belvoir are to the landmen of Yorkshire and Leicestershire.

The legend of Æacus is connected with this observation. This mountain supplied the first prognostic of the coming shower. Hence Æacus wisely selected this spot as the scene of his supplication to Jove, knowing that the mountain would probably give the first intimation by clouded summit of the wished-for rain. He perhaps chose for his prayers a moment when such indications were visible. The shower however which followed was considered by the Hellenic strangers, collected in the plain below him, not as a consequence of natural phenomena, but of his entreaties. Thus a coincidence was converted into a cause; and Æacus the King of Ægina became the Son of Jove.

There is another argument to establish the identity of the summit of Oros with the site of the Temple of the Panhellenian Jove.

It is well known to have been the practice of some Christians to modify the objects of heathen adoration rather than to destroy them. The stream of Paganism was

<sup>1</sup> Theophrast. de Signis pluv. p. 149. *ἐὰν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑλλανίου νεφέλη καθίστηται, ὥς τὰ πολλὰ ὕδωρ γίγνεται*—

<sup>2</sup> See Grose's Local Proverbs. *arts.* Yorkshire and Leicestershire.



thus taught to glide into a Christian channel with a soft and easy current. When temples became churches, and deities and heroes were displaced by saints and martyrs, there was generally some analogy, which regulated the process of substitution.<sup>1</sup>

From the frequency of such examples we may argue the identity of Oros and the Panhellenium.

The Panhellenian Mount was consecrated in the pagan creed of Ægina by the tradition that Æacus had prayed on its summit, and obtained a shower from heaven in answer to his prayer. The mountain now called Oros has on its vertex a small chapel, the foundations of which are constructed of huge blocks in a style of very ancient masonry. This chapel is dedicated to the Prophet Elias. A more appropriate successor than Elias could not have been devised in the room of Æacus, to occupy the consecrated fabric standing on this hill.

For while the Pagan might assert <sup>2</sup> ὅτι Αἰακὸς τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ θύσας καὶ εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ἐοίησεν ὕεσθαι, *that Æacus having sacrificed and prayed to Panhellenian Jove caused the rain to fall upon Greece*, the Christian assured him, on a <sup>3</sup> much higher authority, ὅτι Ηλίας προσηύξατο καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ὑετὸν ἔδωκε, καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐβλάστησε τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς, *that Elias prayed, and the heavens gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit*. The foundations just noticed of the small Chapel of Elias, may perhaps be vestiges of the ancient Temple of Panhellenian Jove.

On the western side of this mountain at its roots are some considerable remains of antiquity. They are probably the vestiges of the peribolus and Temple of Aphaea, the

<sup>1</sup> See the instances in Middleton's Letters from Rome, p. 163. Mr. Blunt's Vestiges, p. 91; and his Reformation, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. ii. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Epist. St. James, v. 18.



Dictynna of Ægina,<sup>1</sup> which Pausanias saw in his way from the city of Ægina to the Panhellenian Mount. A church now stands upon the site of the temple. It is dedicated to Ai Asomatos. An old column was formerly cased in the walls of this church, and now lies on the western side of the building. Engraved upon this column, in the direction of its length, is the following inscription :

Η Ο Σ Τ Ο Δ Α Λ Α Λ Μ Α Ν Ε Θ Ε Κ Ε  
Φ Ι Λ Ο Σ Τ Ρ Α Τ Ο Σ : Ε Σ Τ Ο Ν Υ Μ Α Ν Τ Ο Ι  
Γ Α Τ Ρ Ι Δ Ε Τ Ο Ι Τ Ε Ν Ο Δ Α Μ Ο  
Φ Ο Ο Ν Ο Ν Υ Μ Α

that is, in an elegiac distich,

Ὅς τόδ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκε, Φιλόστρατός ἐστ' ὄνυμ' αὐτῷ,  
Πατρὶ δὲ τῷ τήνῳ Δαμοφῶν ὄνυμα.

*Philostratus set up this sculptur'd Stone,  
Such was his name ; His Sire's Demophoön.*

This inscription affords, perhaps, the earliest specimen of the occurrence of Æolo-Doric forms, in a monument of this nature, with the exception of the Elean inscription.

On returning towards the modern city, we pass a site on the western coast of the island called Marathóna. Here, in the church of S. Michael, is a marble slab, which proves that the temple of Apollo, noticed by Pausanias in his description of Ægina, was not far from this spot.

Η Ο Ρ Ο Σ  
Τ Ε Μ Ε Ν Ο Σ  
Α Ρ Ο Λ Λ Ω Ν Ο Σ  
Γ Ο Σ Ε Ι Δ Ω Ν Ο Σ

*Boundary of the sacred precinct of Apollo and Neptune,*

<sup>1</sup> See Müller Æginetica, p. 163. Heyne Excurs. Virg. Cir. 220. 295.



The temple of Neptune, to which it was contiguous, probably obtained its site here, from its connexion with the harbour, now called Pertica, which is about a mile to the north of this spot.

Near this place is a small chapel. Its interior is gloomy, the light being derived from the door only (as was usually the case in the old Greek temples), and from one small lamp which burns dimly near the Sacred Picture by which the chapel is hallowed and adorned.

There is a road of recent construction from the port of Pertica to the town of Ægina: the distance is about three miles. On our arrival there in the evening we find the streets and quay in a state of confusion. A large detachment of *irregular* troops had quartered themselves here, where they are said to have made themselves compensation for the retrenchment of their pay, from the resources of the Greek mint, which is now worked at Ægina, as it was formerly in the age of Pheidon. A company of Greek *regulars* (τακτικοὶ) has just arrived here, with the view of dislodging the others, who are determined not to retreat. The regulars are without pay as well as their opponents, and it is supposed that a fray will take place between them: and to prevent a disturbance, an order has been issued that all the inhabitants should retire to their homes.

We embark the next morning for Nauplia.



## APPENDIX.



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## APPENDIX.

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THE following details with respect to recent discoveries at Athens, and the condition of that capital, are from a letter by CHARLES HOLTE BRACEBRIDGE, Esq.

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ATHENS, *April 25th*, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR,

MY answer to your inquiries as to the newly-discovered objects of interest at Athens, will not, I fear, give any high idea of the exertions which have been made or the success which has rewarded them. Here, indeed, these discoveries are hailed with delight, not only for their own importance, but as the firstfruits of a rich harvest;—here, too, where the difficulty of digging down even to the surface of the earth is seen, and the small sums which can be appropriated to research, known, every allowance is made. Nor do we expect, after so many eras of pillage as Athens has passed through, to come at once upon such treasures as have been raised from the remains of a Roman bath or an imperial villa. Yet the antiquities of Athens now under investigation have their great and peculiar interest—they



belong to an earlier epoch—and are parts of one great whole. The excavations in the Acropolis, conducted by Dr. Ross, have been carried to a depth of twenty or twenty-five feet below the surface of the soil, on the south side of the Parthenon. Venetian casemates and Turkish subterranean galleries have been pierced through, and the foundations of the great temple laid bare on one side, and the Cimonian walls on the other. It is intended to reduce the ground generally to its original level round the temple, and in this process to move the earth ten or fifteen feet deep. Not only have the vast masses brought for erecting the Parthenon (but unused on account of defects) been found strewn about, but the *workshop* of the Parthenon has been found, that is, drums of columns of Pentelic marble lying in huge masses of chippings of marble, and fragments left by the hammer and the chisel; nay more, some blocks have been discovered which belonged to the old Hecatompedon, and a number of bronze, pottery, and marble fragments, together with *burnt wood*, at a level below the above-named marble chippings, which can be attributed *only* to an era of distinction preceding the erection of the unrivalled fane we now see, namely, the Persian invasion. A very spirited horse's head, in a style intermediate between that of the Ægina and Parthenon reliefs, and the relievo of a fish, appear to be undeniable remains of the older temple; and a vast variety of beautiful bronze-work vases, helmets, utensils, little figures, handles of vases, attest the advanced state of the arts at that remote period. I was particularly struck with a bronze Minerva, about ten inches high, finished with all the minute taste of the best specimens from Pompeii. A large collection of terracotta fragments, lamps, vases, and architectural ornaments, was also found at the sub-Parthenon depth, if I may so express it. Among these is a patera of



the lightest and finest material, with exquisite figures in dark brown. But the most interesting of these remains are the painted figures and heads (some of which retain their colours, and represent the Greek costumes of this day), and especially the fragments of columns, triglyphs, and capitals, which still retain their original colours, blue, red, and the brightest ultra-marine. One capital in the Theseum, and many vestiges about the Erechtheum, show that the temples were in part coloured, but no proof has been given, before the discovery of these primitive Attic remains, that bright and highly contrasted colours were used generally on marble edifices. On the edge of a fragment of a vase, taken from the lowest pit, I remarked in very ancient characters the word **ΑΘΕΜΑΙΑΣ**. Six pieces of the frieze, three of which are well preserved, are now to be found about the Parthenon: two of them seem to be the work of inferior artists, but one (the subject of which is two priests and an assistant leading two bulls to sacrifice) is a relief equal to any of those of which the Parthenon has been plundered. One only of the metopes, a most spirited piece, is to be found, besides the much injured ones still in their places.

The great discovery of the day is the long lost temple of the **WINGLESS VICTORY**, seen by Wheler, and subsequently blown up and enclosed in a Turkish bastion. It is not of the Doric order, as that traveller asserts, but of beautiful Ionic, the columns about fifteen feet high, and fluted: four columns stand on the front, and four on the back; the sides of the cella being in line with the external columns. The whole is of Pentelic marble, and finely finished: the position is exactly that specified by Pausanias, on the S. W. angle of the Acropolis, on the right as you ascend to the Propylæa, turning the S. W. wing of which this exquisite little temple fronts your right hand. Parts of all the columns of this



temple have been found, several entire with their capitals, and these, with the walls of the cella, and most of the entablatures have been replaced, and will have a grand effect as soon as the scaffolding is removed. The reliefs of its frieze are very bold and spirited, and tolerably preserved: the subjects are supposed to be the Athenian victory over the Amazons, and that over the Persians at Marathon. Nearly the whole frieze has been discovered, except the four pieces in the British Museum. Two very fine pieces of relief, about three feet high, have been found near the Victory Temple: they do not appear to have belonged to it—the subject is a bull led by three winged Victories.

The Erechtheum has not yet been opened, nor has the base of the great statue of Minerva been sought for; but between these points the passage and steps cut in the rock have been laid open, which led from the Acropolis to the city through the grotto of Aglauros, through which subterranean passage the canephoræ probably bore the sacred baskets from Minerva Polias to the gardens of Venus. (Pausan. Attic. c. 27.)

Within a very few weeks two sarcophagi have been discovered near the modern mint, which have excited much interest. They are not of the first style of art, but yet possess bold and elaborate reliefs: the one, wreaths and lions' heads—the other, two lions drinking from a vase, and a Bacchanal of dancing infants. A skeleton was found in the former, which is thought to belong to the early Christian era. A third sarcophagus found in the same neighbourhood contains three objects of great interest; a sistrum, an incense-box, and a vase, all of silver. The vase is about ten inches high, and resembles a cream-jug of the last century; the box is octagonal, and about four inches in diameter. The owner of these objects has very reasonably been named



a priest of Isis, and is consequently but a modern among the ancients.

The mint above mentioned (which, after all, is not to be a mint, but a bank, it is said), with the royal stables, a hospital, and a barrack, are the only public buildings of consequence yet erected; but the new palace, the foundation-stone of which was laid by the King of Bavaria two months since, is the object of first attention among the modern improvements. No less than three sites had been previously fixed on, much to the dismay of successive speculators in land; this last, however, seems by general assent allowed to be the best: and the actual building of the palace has placed the minds of landed proprietors and street-projectors at ease on the subject. The spot chosen is just without the old Bobonistra Gate, where the inscription to Hadrian remains, in a line between Lycabettus and the Olympieum, and on an eminence overlooking the town, the Hymettian chain and the gulf. The front of the building, which is to be adorned by a portico of Pentelic marble, faces the Acropolis, that is, is about S. S. W. Gardens and a square are to connect the palace with the town. The plan, which embraces two quadrangles, is handsome and commodious, without being extravagant. Nor are the Athenians the less pleased with it because it is to be executed at the King's private expense. The King of Bavaria is said to have contributed munificently: to him, indeed, and to his talented architect, Professor Gartner, the whole honour of the palace belongs. Many large houses have been erected within the last year, and buildings are going on with such spirit, that the price of ground in good situations far exceeds the sum which could have been calculated on: 300*l.* was lately given for about half an acre, and an adjoining piece has just been sold at the rate of 1200*l.* or 1300*l.* an acre.



This is at a distance from the commercial streets, where enormous prices are obtained for the square yard of frontage-ground. Three great streets have been some time since opened—the Adrian, Athena, and Æolus streets—all of which now assume a regular appearance; and though the dilatory system of some parties, and want of zeal and funds to overcome difficulties, have as yet prevented the opening of many of the minor communications, yet an attentive observer remarks the huge masses of grey walls and rubbish disappear by little and little, crooked encumbered lanes become straight, and wherever two or three good houses are built, walls are thrown back, and a street of twenty feet wide appears. The style of building is rather modern German than anything else; neither the picturesque (and in this climate agreeable) Turkish house nor the Italian colonnade is seen; happily the English red brick is also absent. The solidity of the walls of rough limestone, which are carried only two stories high, compensates in some measure for the rough manner in which they are finished. Many of the common houses are built after the Constantinople fashion—an upper story of wood-work filled up by dried bricks on a basement of broad stone walls. On the whole, considering the necessary want of funds, taste, good practical architects, and workmen who have any knowledge of their art, the appearance of the new buildings is highly creditable. I should have mentioned before, that the walls of the old town were pulled down last spring, which gives the place a much better appearance. The town is now spread out in a fan-shape to the north of the Acropolis, and its diameters may be a mile and a mile and half: the population probably does not yet exceed 15,000. One peculiarity of Athens is the number of its churches, which are said to exceed 300; with few exceptions they are in ruins. Such



a fine opportunity for making open and planted squares will, I trust, not be lost, when the dispute between the municipality and the Government as to the right of property in these churches shall have been settled. The supply of water brought into the town by the ancient aqueducts is abundant and excellent. When the town advances, no doubt many useful and beautiful fountains will vie with those of Rome or Naples. At present the Turkish fountains only are used; and as the Hymettian and Pentelic quarries of marble have not yet been re-opened it may be as well that no attempt should be made at present to adorn the Grecian city in this respect.<sup>1</sup> In connection with modern Athens, I must not omit Peiræus, where several large houses have been built; some good streets, flanked by low but respectable dwellings, have already been completed. A large custom-house has been built, and a quay and lazaretto are in immediate contemplation; the population may be about 1500. Though trade cannot be said to flourish at the Peiræus, yet it has become a bustling place. Besides the small coasting vessels which crowd the harbour four or five brigs and as many schooners are generally at anchor in the ancient Aphrodisian port. Four or five men-of-war frequently lie in the Peiræus together, nor is any great difficulty found by such heavy frigates as the American Constitution or the British Portland in passing the narrow entrance where the Lions, now at Venice, crowned the pier-heads. The vestiges, considered those of the Salaminian trophy and sarcophagus of Themistocles, still give interest to the outer point, and on the next (inwards) the remains of the famous Admiral Miaulis are laid. A most interesting ceremony took place on the occasion of his obsequies, and a national

<sup>1</sup> Some blocks from the Pentelic quarry have been brought to Athens, since the above was written.



monument is to be erected over the remains of this modern Themistocles.

The little dock-yard at Poros is in a promising state: eight or ten small vessels and gun-boats are in commission, and form excellent *guardacostas*. A change of ministers has lately taken place, and all the offices are not yet disposed of: most of the *employés* are Greeks, and there is every reason to hope that a public system of business will be adopted, which may prevent intrigues and overcome jealousies which must injure this country. Nor will, I conceive, the decrees, which have been, from their non-efficiency, the ridicule of every one, be persisted in. The great difficulty is to obtain here practical results rapidly: while some diplomats write "rapports" and orders; the Greeks talk and promise; both seem equally averse from *doing*. Of all the difficulties with which the Government have to contend, that of not having obtained a moral influence from the high principle and worthy intentions of its "personnel," is what strikes an Englishman most. The courts of justice are, it is said, well filled by Greeks, who are learning to act on the code of Maurer, and the trial by jury is conducted with regularity and efficiency, and is becoming popular.<sup>1</sup> Though the capital is of course infested by the low and vicious population of many nations (which is never wanting in such towns), in the country peace and security may be said to reign; the peasantry enjoy their possessions in quietness, and have been gradually improving their condition; the want of capital among proprietors has been a great check to this. Nevertheless, one enters no village where either fresh land

<sup>1</sup> The oath is administered in these courts with much more solemnity than in ours. The presiding Judge rises, and himself repeats the form to the witness who stands directly before him, with his hand on the Gospels. Every one in the Court stands up meanwhile.



has not been brought into cultivation, or vineyards planted. When the National Bank, which is to be<sup>1</sup> put in action by an English Company in two months, has supplied capital on landed security, agriculture must advance rapidly; but it is much to be wished that the judgment and experience of foreigners were called in to assist, and the richer productions aimed at. I have seen most of the richer parts of Greece, and have been lately over the lovely and fertile island of Eubœa, where nature seems to have united the forests, snows, and waters of Switzerland, to the richness and variety of Greece. From the inquiries I have made, and the experience of some most intelligent resident Gentlemen, Greek and foreign, I am convinced that a well-educated Englishman may lay out his capital there to greater advantage than in Canada or Australia; he may live on his estate, and make ten per cent. on it immediately, and if he buys with judgment, will have every prospect of very shortly doubling that amount of interest. An English farmer will prefer places where his language is spoken, but for an educated young man, who can learn Greek, and feels some interest in the beauty, history, and climate of Greece, as well as in the intelligent society of its Capital, (which is within easy reach from any part of that island) who is willing to attend to the details of land-management, and can feel enjoyment from extent of domain: I must say, that such a one emigrating, with a capital of not less than 1500*l.* or 2000*l.* has every prospect of a happy and useful life here, and with (as it seems to me) fewer sacrifices than he would have to make in Canada. Notwithstanding all delays in her path, I can only see for Greece success in the future.

<sup>1</sup> This scheme has been hitherto suspended in consequence of the parties in England not being satisfied with the terms allowed them as fixed by Count Armansperg, and approved by the Council of State, (May 1837.)



However great the difficulties of her government, and the inferiority of her situation, compared with European states, yet we cannot forget how rapid and how great has been her rise, not only from slavery, but from a war of destruction; and bearing this in mind we shall more fairly judge of her powers for happiness. The paltry rebellion, near Missolonghi, which never boasted of more than 300 men, has been put down by the light<sup>1</sup> troops sent there, and the robbers on the Turkish frontier have received some severe checks and well-deserved punishment for the blackmail they collected in the winter.

We have just bought the ground for the Protestant chapel, but in consequence of the delay in the business we shall now defer till autumn the erection of the building. By then I trust we shall have completed our subscription, and be enabled to demand the government-money. The Protestant cemetery on the Ilissus has lately been completed and planted with cypresses. You will have ere this received Pittakys' book by Mrs. Hill, who is gone alone to America on the business of the Mission. Mr. Hill<sup>2</sup> is well, and desires to be remembered to you; his schools are flourishing.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

C. H. BRACEBRIDGE.

<sup>1</sup> Five of the ancient Chiefs or Capitani of the war of freedom commanded these troops; Tzavellas (a hero of Missolonghi and now Aide-de-Camp to the King) Mammouris, Grivas, Vassos and Tzongas; who not only restrained the licence of their *Irregulars*, but forgot long existing jealousies in the common cause of their country.

<sup>2</sup> The author of this volume cannot allow the names of Mr. and Mrs. Hill to appear on this page without at the same time recording his obligations to them. It was to their kindness at Athens in 1833, at a time and in a place which offered little prospect of such good offices, that he was indebted for the alleviation of an illness which was brought on by a journey into Bœotia and Phocis, during a winter of remarkable severity.



May 5, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR,

I SHALL gladly avail myself of the opportunity which you offer me, of adding a few lines to my letter of the 25th of April, 1836. Well do I remember the cloudless sky, the genial warmth, the waving green corn, and the mountain flowers, which bore witness to an Attic spring-time on that day. Those only who have "lived beneath the azure morn" of Hellas

(ὅποσοι γλαυκὰν ναίουσιν ὑπ' αἶω)

can conceive the effect of its lucid atmosphere on the animal spirits, particularly at that season. The harvest was however not an abundant one in Attica; from the want of sufficient rain in March not only were the crops of corn scanty, but

"The flowery hill Hymettus with the sound  
Of bees' industrious murmur \* \* \*"

did not yield its usual tribute of sweets to its indigenous swarms. Their productive labour failed and their numbers were not augmented.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The bees in Greece are not destroyed when the honey is taken, and increase sometimes twofold each season. Beginning their labours at the end of April they continue them till November; even through most of the winter many are seen on the wing, but they do not venture far from home. Water is essential to the bee, and during the working season they crowd the mouths of wells and the watering troughs, preferring the coldest and purest water. The peasants are careful to place water in troughs or hollow stones that they may drink without danger, yet many hundreds are drowned as they refresh themselves in the evening after their labours "crura thymo plenæ."

At liquidi fontes et stagna virentia musco  
Adsint, et tenuis fugiens per gramina rivus—  
In medium, seu stabit iners seu profluet humor,  
Transversas salices et grandia conjice saxa :  
Pontibus ut crebris possint consistere, et alas  
Pandere ad aestivum Solem, si forte morantes  
Sparserit, aut præceps Neptuno immerserit Eurus.

VIRGIL. *Georg.* iv. 18.



The richer lands and higher plains of Greece produced an average crop ; indeed so great is the variety of soil and climate that one can hardly suppose that Greece could suffer generally at any time from dearth. The plains of Arcadia, for instance, are probably 2000 feet higher than those of Argos or Elis, and consequently the harvests are later. Indeed they differ, in some degree, in kind : Kalambóki, or maize, may more properly be called the staple produce of the lower plains than wheat—barley grows among the highest hills, on the lightest soils. Excellent tobacco is the result of the high temperature of the neighbourhood of Tiryns and Mycenæ, and the southern side of the Argolide near Lerna seems well adapted for cotton or mastic. There are few villages in Greece where a little of the former is not grown for domestic consumption.

In May 1836, the King of Greece sailed for Ancona, but his protracted absence of nine months has been more than compensated by his marriage with one of the most amiable and sensible Princesses in Europe, a daughter of the Duke of Oldenburg by his first wife. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which the King and Queen were received on landing (last February) at the Peiræus. The royal proclamation on the King's return was everywhere well received, and a mutual good feeling exists between the

It seems probable that flowers have less saccharine matter in their farina than thyme, and that the farina itself is sooner dissipated : of the many varieties of honey that exist, that of Hymettus is still esteemed the best, on account of its high flavour of thyme. One little glen in Eubœa planted with rose trees by some whimsical or speculating Pasha, boasts a honey approaching in taste to conserve of roses—this, till the revolution, was monopolised by the ladies of the Seraglio. In Eubœa a strong spirit is distilled from honey—it is by no means unpleasant, and slightly resembles the Kirchwasser of the Black Forest. The Attic hives often produce from 12 to 17lbs. of honeycomb—the honey is chiefly exported to Constantinople, the wax used in the churches for tapers.



sovereign and his people. Soon after his arrival, King Otho conducted his Queen over the Acropolis, entering by the ancient approach through the Propylæa. Mr. Pittakys, the present conservator of antiquities,

*Ἐφορος τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Μουσείου*

has achieved the long desired object of opening this entrance and clearing the beautiful columns from the huge masses which have been for centuries piled up between them so as to form a solid wall. The temple of the wingless Victory too, stands once more on the angle of the Acropolis rock.

Many fragments and inscriptions and some few statues have been discovered during the past year, but nothing I believe of peculiar interest.

The modern buildings of Athens and other principal towns have, in spite of apparent want of capital, advanced rapidly. Extensive districts of ruins have been pierced by regular streets of respectable, if not very expensive, houses. The town (with its rising palace) has now become a modern Capital, the fragments of the buildings of the last era form the exception to its general appearance, and seem left only as mementos of war and slavery, amidst the blessings of civilisation.

At the Peiræus the spirited Sciotes, who have undertaken to build many houses and a church on the side of the harbour nearest Munichia, have already proceeded far in their enterprise. I believe that the peace of the whole of Greece has never been seriously disturbed during the past year. The laws have been impartially administered, and the trial by jury has taken still further hold of the opinions of a people, to whose institutions and feelings it is peculiarly adapted. From the time the King left the government in the hands of Count Armandsparg, the policy of the



administration has been greatly criticised and its dilatory system much blamed. But it must nevertheless be confessed that some important measures have been proposed by him. The Council of State has discussed the budget of each department, and personally examined the Secretaries of State on the necessity of the intended disbursements. The expenditure of the State for 1833, 1834, 1835 has been published, as well as the estimates for 1836, which are carried to a great degree of minuteness. It has been shewn that the receipts of 1834 exceeded those of 1833 by nearly 122,000*l.*, and those of 1835 have again surpassed those of 1834 by 90,000*l.*, which is a pretty sure criterion of prosperity, the chief taxes being laid on agricultural produce.

Count Armandsparg has signalised the last year of his administration by the establishment of Provincial Councils, a measure which is hailed as both wise and constitutional, since it tends to train the nation to the regular election of a national assembly, whose functions the Council of State provisionally fulfils. The Provincial Councils are chosen by electors whose rights are defined by the Act, which divided the whole of Greece into municipalities (*δημοι*). Thus, should a national assembly be chosen hereafter, both the mode of election will be familiar to the people, and there will be a class of persons conversant with the management of local business, who must therefore shortly become efficient senators. This measure may well make amends for certain obnoxious taxes, not very constitutionally imposed by Count Armandsparg, and several despotic acts towards the citizens of Athens, the town council of which had presumed to prepare an address, for the King's expected return, not very flattering to the Government during his absence. It is said that at the moment Count Armandsparg offered his congratulations to his Majesty on board the



British frigate, the King announced to him that he had abolished the office of Arch-Chancellor, presenting at the same time Mr. Rudhart as the future Prime Minister. A royal edict, in a few days afterwards, declared that the King had at last accepted the Count's often proffered resignation.

Mr. Rudhart is a German gentleman (a Franconian by birth) well known for his talents and success in life; many different opinions are entertained of his policy, which I shall forbear to trouble you with.

The Editor of the *Tachydromos*, of March 13, very justly remarks, "If the abolition of the office of Arch-Chancellor had no other beneficial result, than that of bringing the Sovereign into more intimate relation with his ministers and Council of State, this alone, we think, would have been sufficient reason to congratulate the nation on the event. On Thursday last the King honoured the Council of State with his presence, on the occasion of its meeting for the examination of the budget for 1837,

(διὰ τὴν συζήτησιν τοῦ προϋπολογισμοῦ τοῦ 1837.)

This is the first time his Majesty has deigned to preside at the Council since its institution." The King has thus broken his leading strings, and placed himself in a position to hear the truth. There are many members of the Council who both can and will speak with that simple freedom so characteristic of Greeks; and these men are well informed by correspondence of all that takes place in their country. There are many who are honest and patriotic, and though not perhaps well educated, they have much practical good sense and general information.

Thus then I look to the prospects of Greece without fear: and though there has been much time lost, since the close of the war of freedom, amidst the heartless intrigues



of statesmen and the selfish projects or fanciful theories of ignorant adventurers, her rise has on the whole been rapid to the point at which she now stands ;<sup>1</sup> and is likely to be accelerated, until she reaches a degree of intelligence and happiness worthy of her former fame.

Greece has chosen for herself that form of government which, in the works of Plato, is lauded as the best<sup>2</sup>—a limited monarchy, which is suited to the genius of the people and the situation of the country. There is no disposition among any party to find fault with it, or any reason to doubt of its success. A nation which has fought for existence under independent chiefs, possessed of more than feudal power, will not easily forget the necessity for a sovereign will and unity of action.

I cannot conclude better than with the last paragraph of King Otho's proclamation on his return, dated the 26th Feb. 1837. "The throne and the people are inseparable. Place your trust in me, O Greeks, as I place mine in you. Then will your happiness and intelligence be alike augmented, and the formation of our new institutions will have a happy result. Our children and future generations will turn their eyes upon us, and upon our common labours, and bless us for them."<sup>3</sup> May the great Powers of Europe never desert a youthful monarch and a gallant people in their pursuit of happiness. Those who speak the Greek language still inhabit some of the fairest provinces of the world, and will soon begin to thirst after the blessings of law and freedom, which they see so near

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Finlay's pamphlet on "The Hellenic Kingdom, 1836."

<sup>2</sup> Μοναρχία τοίνυν ζευχθεῖσα μὲν ἐν γράμμασιν ἀγαθοῖς οὓς νόμους λέγομεν ἀρίστη πασῶν.—Πλατ. Πολιτ. 302, e.

<sup>3</sup> Ὁ θρόνος καὶ ὁ λαὸς εἶναι ἀδιαχώριστα. \* \* \* Ἐμπιστευθῆτε Ἑλληνες εἰς ἐμὲ, καθὼς ἐγὼ εἰς ἐσᾶς ἐμπιστεύομαι, καὶ τότε ἡ εὐδαιμονία, καὶ ἡ νοερὰ μὀρφωσίς θέλει μεγαλυνθῆ, καὶ τὸ οἰκοδόμημα νέων θέσμοθεσιῶν



them: we may hope that the time is not very far distant when civilisation, advancing gradually eastward, may achieve a bloodless conquest<sup>1</sup> in those realms which a Grecian army once tore from the grasp of the Despot of the East.

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

C. H. BRACEBRIDGE.

θέλει λάβει τὸ ἐντυχές του πέρας. Ἐυλογοῦντες θέλουν στρέφει πρὸς τὸ κοινόν μας τοῦτο ἔργον, πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα μας καὶ ὅλαι αἱ ἐπερχόμεναι γενεαὶ τὰ βλέμματά των.

Ἐν Αθήναις

Τὴν  $\frac{14}{26}$  Φεβρουαρίου 1837,

ΟΘΩΝ.

<sup>1</sup> The following Newspapers are named in the advertisement of a Reading Room at Athens, February 1837 :

- |                         |                                      |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. ὁ Σωτήρ              | in Greek and French.                 |
| 2. ἡ Ἀθηναῖ             | Greek.                               |
| 3. ἡ Ἑλπίς              | Greek and German.                    |
| 4. ἡ Ἀναγέννηθεῖσα      | Greek and French.                    |
| 5. ὁ Ταχυδρόμος         | Greek and French.                    |
| 6. ἡ Τῶν Ἀγγελιῶν       | Greek, for advertisements only.      |
| 7. ἡ Βασιλική           | Greek.                               |
| 8. ἡ Ἴρις               | Greek.                               |
| 9. ὁ Κλεπτῆς            | Greek.                               |
| 10. ὁ Ἐμπορικὸς Ἀγγελος | Greek, ship news and advertisements. |

PERIODICALS.

1. ὁ Θεατής.
2. ἡ Πρόοδος.
3. ὁ Ασκληπιός.
4. ἡ Ἀνθολογία τῶν Κοινοφελῶν Γνώσεων.

THE END.



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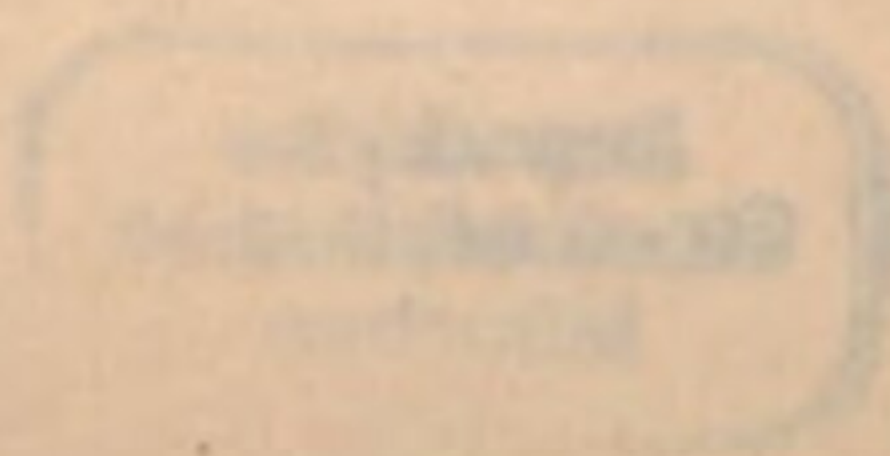
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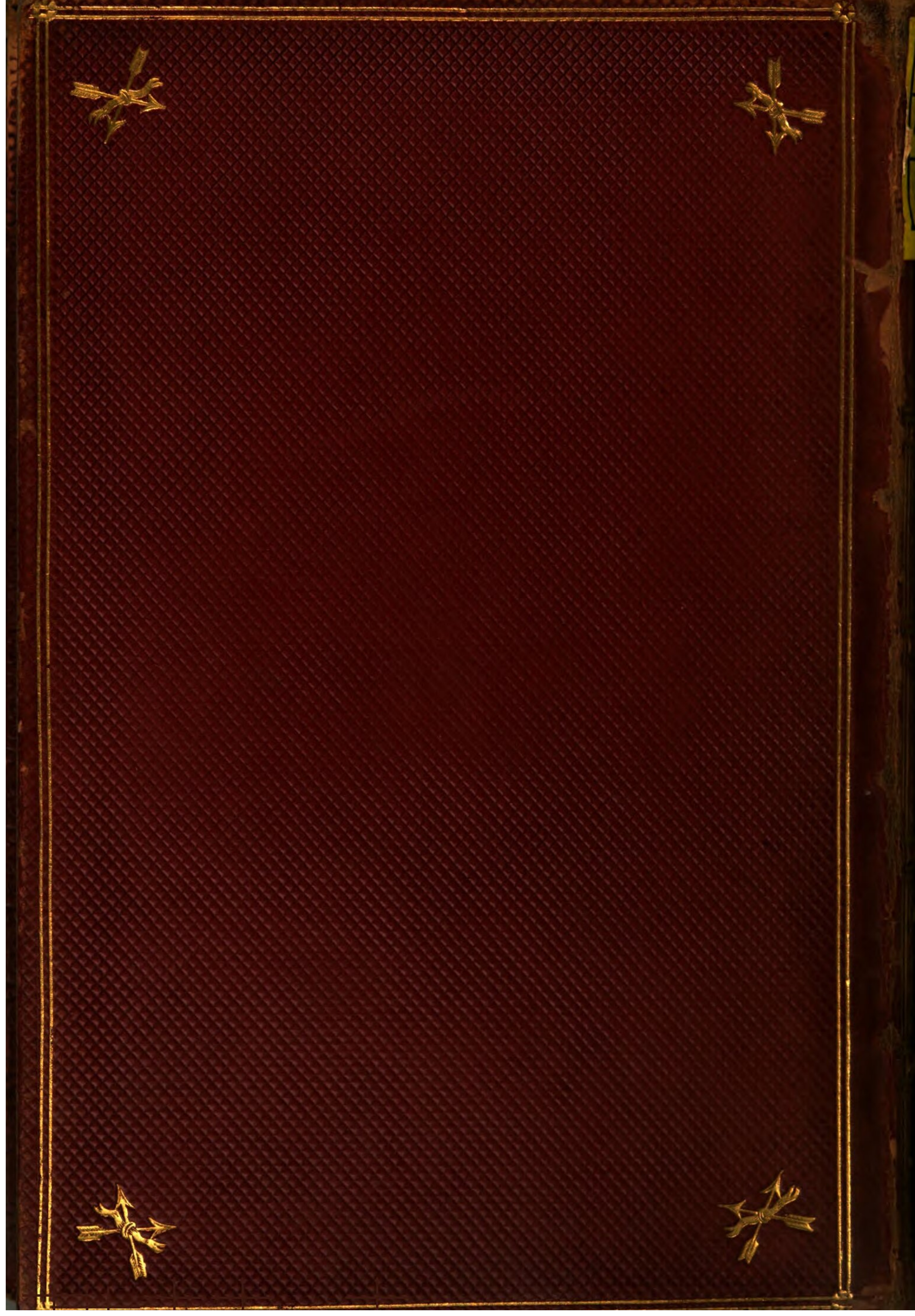














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